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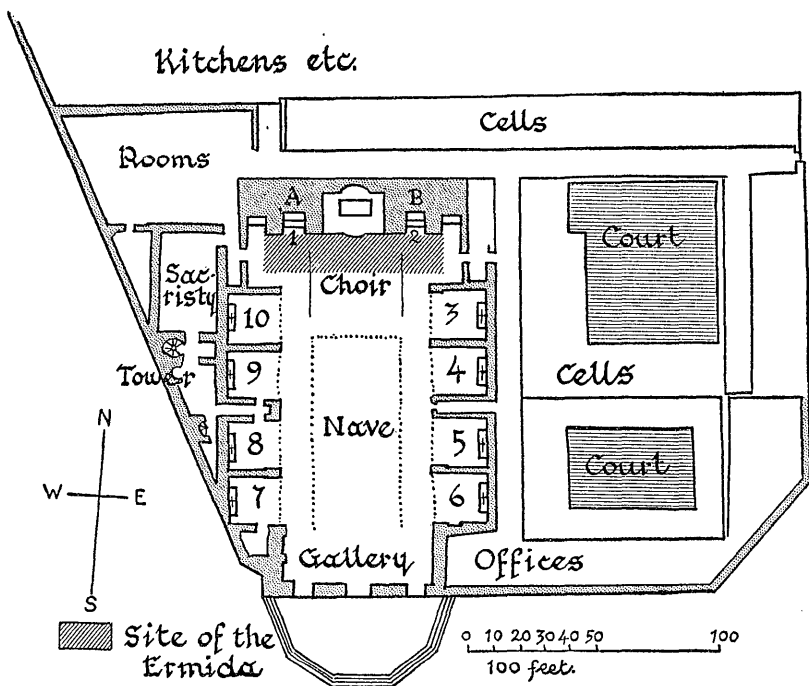
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## GROUND PLAN OF THE CASA DE SÃO ROQUE.

(Showing the dedications of chapels and altars.)

- |                        |                                      |                   |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Todos os Santos.    | 2. Onze Mil Virgens.                 | 3. Do Santissimo. |
| 4. São Roque.          | 5. S. Francis Xavier.                | 6. Da Doutrina.   |
| 7. Jesus, Maria, José. | 8. S. Antonio.                       | 9. Da Piedade.    |
| 10. S. João Baptista.  | A and B. Windowed niches for relics. |                   |

# THE TREASURE OF SÃO ROQUE

A SIDELIGHT ON  
THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

BY

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FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

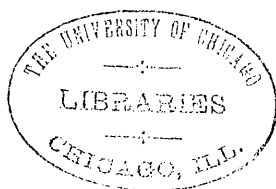
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## PREFACE

THIS study aims at presenting an unpublished collection of sixteenth-century deeds authenticating relics of saints, and extracting from them such fresh historical knowledge as they may prove to yield. Documents of a secondary nature, such as these, have one thing in their favour. If they do afford any information of value, it is such as can be accepted with great assurance, because it is given by the way, and the writers are, so far as we are concerned, off their guard. Deeds of authentication of relics are documents of which there is a considerable, if scattered, supply, so that if the experiment here made is judged successful, it can be followed by others like it.

A word may be said as to the circumstances that led up to it. The starting-point was an enquiry into the cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. The skull of this saint is claimed by Lisbon, where it is preserved among the relics in the church of São Roque. The donor was Don Juan de Borgia, in the territory of whose near kinsman, the Prince of Squillace, was the reputed tomb of the saint. Thinking that this relationship might be a clue to the history of the relic, I looked for further information, and found my way to Senhor Victor Ribeiro's *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, in which (p. 271) he recorded the rediscovery, in a tin box, of these deeds of authentication. As nearly thirty years had passed, and Portugal undergone a revolution, since he wrote his book, there seemed no small chance that they would have been lost again, or even have been destroyed, in the interim. But a holiday visit to Lisbon put the matter to the test, and resulted in a dozen good hours' work on the contents of the tin box—about eighty deeds, of which one referred to the skull of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. This particular deed proved curiously unsatisfying, but the collection as a whole seemed too interesting to lie *perdu*. Hence the present work. If it is new of its kind, it can claim to stand

in a line of study that is respectable. Nearly forty years ago, M. Samuel Berger, a collaborator of the Comte de Riant, wrote, in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*,<sup>1</sup> "La science des reliques et l'histoire . . . ont à se rendre mutuellement les plus grands services." And that saying might well stand as motto at the head of this work.

I am indebted to Dr. J. W. Barker for checking and correcting my transcripts from Spanish and Portuguese deeds, and to Mr. E. Bullough for a like kindness with regard to the Italian. I acknowledge with gratitude the honour I receive in the approval of this study as my exercise for the B.D. degree at Cambridge, and in its publication by the Church Historical Society as a volume in its admirable series of monographs.

W. TELFER.

July 8, 1932.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* (1893), p. 467.

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## INTRODUCTION

ON the brow of one of the "seven hills" of Lisbon is a group of buildings known as the Casa da Misericórdia<sup>1</sup>. It is the headquarters of a scheme of philanthropic activity which supports orphans and almspersons, helps poor working folk in sickness and childbed, and maintains a number of other good works. It is, in fact, the archetype and original of those Misericórdias which are so characteristic of Portuguese life, whether in Portugal or overseas. The Portuguese are, not without reason, proud of these institutions.

The Misericórdia at Lisbon gets a great deal of its revenue from a weekly lottery, which commands the interest of all classes in the city. This in itself is an old-established institution. But the Misericórdia goes back to 1498, when it was initiated by Miguel de Contreiras, confessor to Queen Leonor. The buildings that house it are nearly a century younger. They were not its first home, nor was it their first tenant. The Jesuit Fathers built them, for their professed-house, when they first came to Lisbon. They obtained the site from the Brotherhood of São Roque<sup>2</sup>, a religious guild that owed its inception to the plague of 1505. During the plague, a new place of burial

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise noted, general information about the Misericórdia and its history is derived from *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, Victor Ribeiro, Lisbon, 1902. This splendid volume was produced in commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Misericórdia by the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, in its series of learned publications (*História e memorias da Academia*, Nova serie, 2a classe, Sciencias moraes e politicas, e bellas lettras, tomo ix., parte ii.; volume lvi. da collecção). Sr. Victor Ribeiro was then in the service of the Casa da Misericórdia, of which, in 1913, he became Archivist. A few years later he was unhappily incapacitated by illness that permits no hope of further literary work.

<sup>2</sup> Sr. Ribeiro notifies, in the *Boletim da 2a classe da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, vol. viii., 1913-4, p. 488, the existence of a *Resumo historico da origem da Ermida de S. Roque e da sua Irmandade na cidade de Lisboa*, by the Abade Castro, 1869, eight pages and an engraving—a little brochure for modern members of the *confraria*, presumably.

had to be started, outside the city walls, among what were then oliveyards on the top of this hill. Then, when the plague abated, following on the arrival at Lisbon of relics of St. Roch<sup>1</sup>, obtained by King Manoel I. from the Republic of Venice in 1506, a wave of public enthusiasm brought about the erection of a hermitage of São Roque on this spot. Here was deposited the precious relic, and here was formed the popular "confraria" which still exists in connection with the present church. And the Jesuits only obtained the site they desired by entering into a covenant to dedicate their church to the honour of St. Roch, and to provide in it a chapel of the saint that should be perpetually for the service of the "confraria," with all necessary facilities. The mediation of King João III. brought these negotiations to a successful issue in 1553<sup>2</sup>. Father Jeronimo Nadal and his companions made their first home in the small buildings adjoining the hermitage, and their first mass was sung in the presence of the King, early in October that year. The preacher on this occasion was Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, but recently become a priest of the Society. It was due in great measure to St. Francis that the court continued to take so lively an interest in the Jesuit settlement.<sup>3</sup> In two years, thanks to the royal munificence, the Society was able to commence a building very different in scale from their first

<sup>1</sup> The cultus of St. Roch rose with remarkable suddenness. His relics were stolen from Montpellier and taken to Venice in 1478, and from that moment attracted popular attention. Valerius Anshelm, in his *Bernerchronik*, says, under the year 1503, *Der nürw St Rochus ist in der schüchen Pestilenz dem alten St Bastian fürgelaufen; dann einige Anschowung sines Bilds die Bülen sollt vertriben* (E. Stierlin's ed., Berne, 1827, Tom. III., p. 252).

<sup>2</sup> For the royal charter, September 30, 1553, see *Bol. Acad. Sci. de Lisboa*, vol. viii., 1913-4, p. 516. Sr. Ribeiro's book has as its predominant interest the history of the institution to which he belonged. The history of the Jesuit house still remains to be written. Plentiful material must be available, as, for example, in the *Ordem de la Casa de S. Roque*, a 96-leaf codex of 1561, numbered 219 among the MSS. of the library of the University of Coimbra. (See Ribeiro's *Nota Bibliographica* in *Bol. Acad. Sci. de Lisboa*, 2a classe, vol. iii., 1910, p. 472.)

<sup>3</sup> For the beginning of the work at São Roque, see Antonio Franco, S.J., *Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania* (Vienna, 1726) *sub anno* 1553. St. Francis arrived in September of that year, and at once attracted the interest of the Court to the new undertaking.

cramped and inconvenient home. It was perhaps a result of their covenant with the Brotherhood that the Jesuits proceeded to build up their new church actually *round* the little hermitage chapel. Now while the chapel was oriented, the new church was planned to run approximately north and south. The shallow eastern transept of the new building encased the sanctuary of the old, of which the whole length extended only as far as the western boundary of the new chancel; so much did the new São Roque surpass the old. The first stone of the Jesuit church was laid in 1555. Thereafter the work proceeded but slowly, and while the walls of the new church crept up, divine service continued to be performed in the little *Ermida* chapel, which still stood intact within them. It was not until 1573 that the height of the interior cornices was reached. At this point, however, it was possible to put on a tiled roof, open to view inside, but sufficient to keep out the weather. On September 25, notice was given that the old church would be closed and destroyed. A hundred and fifty men were forthcoming to help the Jesuits in the work of demolition, and the solemn opening of the new church took place on the First Sunday in Advent. The ceiling was still lacking, and presented great difficulty, as the side walls were not equal to meeting the thrust of a built vaulting.

When, in 1580, Philip II. of Spain usurped the throne of Portugal, he showed himself favourable to the Lisbon Jesuits, and not only contributed lavishly towards the cost of the completion of the church, but also set the Italian architect, Felipe Terzi, to direct the work.<sup>1</sup> As a result, 75-foot beams were

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit *Annuae Litteræ* for 1582 gives a brief notice of this last stage of the work. On p. 85, *Templum nostrum, quod adhuc rude fuit, ad Societatis ministeria exsequenda, opere subito, et inchoato, extructum, perfici et ornari hoc anno cœptum est; in eam rem viri quidem e prima nobilitate aureorum quinque millia contulerunt. Rex Catholicus etiam architectum suum attribuit; et ut res ire cœpit, brevi absolutum iri speramus.*

The dedication in the name of St. Roch is recorded on p. 531, thus: *Sollemnis dies Beato Roccho sacer magna frequentia pompæque celebratus, procurante sodalitis, quod eum sibi tutelarem habet. Oblatum ab eodem brachium argenteum præclaro artificio novem pondo, in quo conditæ aliquot Beati Viri reliquiæ.*



purchased in Prussia, with which the flat ceiling of the church was effected. The fine *azulejos* (pictured tiles) adorning the covenanted chapel of São Roque (the third in the ritual south aisle) were erected at the same time. The whole church, dedicated in the same name, immediately took rank as one of the artistic glories of Portugal. It was arranged for thirteen altars. Each several bay of both aisles was walled off into a separate chapel, with vaulted ceiling richly gilt, opening out of the nave, four chapels to a side, with their altars facing into the nave. The ritual east end (which is actually north) holds the sanctuary and high altar. The choir transepts on either side have each two altars set into the "east" wall (again, the actual north).

To the east of the church, and adjoining the ritual south aisle and transept, were the two moderate-sized courtyards around which were erected the domestic buildings of the *Professa*, at this time only the second house of the Society to bear this character; that is to say, to be purely a house of community life for those who had taken the vows. The work of ceiling the church was completed in 1583.<sup>1</sup> The money was forthcoming for it, as the result of a *quête* carried out by the Fathers in the city, which realized over 7,000 cruzados. Popular enthusiasm was roused, and the church at once became the most frequented in Lisbon.

Meanwhile, chiefly by the energy of the Preposito, Pedro da Fonseca, the house of residence was completed and equipped with all necessary furnishings, in 1584, as the result of various benefactions.

The house thus erected forthwith became one of the most active centres of the life of the Society. From its doors went forth a constant succession of missionaries to the East Indies and the West, to Africa and the Far East, wherever the intrepid Portuguese seamen would carry them. Throughout these great days, the Fathers set themselves steadfastly to augment the glory of their splendid church. In this they had

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Franco, *Synopsis Annalium*, records *sub annis* the main stages of this work. With the idea that the rich ceiling required better protection than a tiled roof, lead was substituted in 1583, but *cum inutile id esse dies ostenderet, mutatum est*.

lavish assistance from the Court, reaching a climax in the amazing chapel of Sam João Baptista, fitted up by King João V., at a cost of a quarter of a million of our money. The story is well known, and has gripped the imagination of the Portuguese. The whole furnishing of the chapel was carried out by the artists Salvi and Vanvitelli in Rome, put together there, and solemnly blessed by Pope Benedict XIV., taken to pieces again, packed and shipped to Lisbon.

In addition to this kind of enhancement, the Fathers sought to glorify their church by such a collection of sacred relics as should make it unique also in this respect. Their success may be judged from the assertion of the Spanish historian, Dr. Sanches Moguel, who visited São Roque in 1894, that the São Roque reliquaries contain the most notable collection of relics in the Peninsula. The Jesuits, however, were not destined to remain in possession. Coming into conflict with the famous minister Sebastião José de Carvalho, afterwards Marquis de Pombal, the Society suffered disaster.<sup>1</sup> The real causes of the conflict went very deep. The writers on either side lay stress on the bad character of their opponents and their motives. The Fathers are represented by the Pombalists as men of dark conspiracy, and Carvalho by the friends of the Jesuits as a disolute and cynical foe of religion. To know just how far either side has a true view of the other is very difficult. But the collision of interests was inevitable, even had the personalities on either side been beyond reproach. Signs of it began to show themselves unmistakably after the earthquake of November, 1755.<sup>2</sup> Carvalho strove to calm the panic-stricken populace by

<sup>1</sup> For the struggle of Pombal with the Jesuits we are dependent on very *ex parte* documents on either side. The account given by Francisco Luiz Gomes, in his *Le Marquis de Pombal* (Lisbon, 1869, written in French) is perhaps as balanced as any. The author writes as a Catholic who is also an admirer of the "great Marquis." The book has no index, and is sparse in references, but clearly rests upon an extensive knowledge of the original sources.

<sup>2</sup> This point is made by the anonymous and pro-Jesuit writer who published a volume of *Anecdotes de Carvalho*, in French, from the press of Janos Rovicki at Warsaw in 1783 (see p. 17). A story that two of the Fathers had a miraculous escape from being crushed in their cells, through having gone early into church, shows that the house buildings were severely damaged.

assurances that the disaster was due to natural causes now over and past. And the Jesuits, while rendering signal public service during the emergency, preached with all possible fervour that the earthquake was a divine visitation, calling men to a religious revival, and full of menace for such as were so stout-hearted as to disregard its meaning. There is no question here of duplicity on either side. It is simply a case of divergent views, either of which was possible within the framework of Roman Catholicism<sup>1</sup>. But two centuries of existence had brought the Society to wonderful efficiency in the wielding of influence, and so rendered it a most formidable opponent. Carvalho recognized it to be, especially in the Portuguese dominions overseas, an *imperium in imperio*, and decided to give battle.

He saw, however, the difference between war with the Jesuits and war with the Church, and that success in the former was only to be hoped for in alliance with ecclesiastical authority. He therefore made representations to the Vatican that the Society was full of scandalous abuses, in particular the exploitation of its privileged position in the overseas missions, to enrich itself by covert trading. And as time went on, so the indictment increased in gravity, till it reached the form of a general charge of disaffection and disloyalty to the realm.<sup>2</sup> These representations could not be set aside, and early in 1758 Cardinal Saldanha was commissioned as Visitor and Reformer of the Society within the Portuguese dominions. He arrived at the beginning of May, and almost at once the Jesuits began to

<sup>1</sup> In this respect the Jesuits were singular only in the strength of their purpose. Clergy and people alike accepted the view that the earthquake was a visitation. On this view, the folk could be calmed by being exhorted to turn for succour to the intercession of the Virgin and other saints, whereby the fierceness of the wrath of God might be appeased. It is not, therefore, credible that the earthquake did anything to bring about the rift between the Society and the civil power. It simply revealed the rift that was in formation.

<sup>2</sup> The *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal*, J. A. Smith, Conde da Carnota (London, 1843; 2nd ed. by the title of *The Marquis of Pombal*, 1871), gives the Pombalist case, derived from a good knowledge of the documents. It is completely prejudiced against the Jesuits. Pombal's representations at Rome are outlined on pp. 101-106, second edition.

be treated as persons under ecclesiastical censure.<sup>1</sup> On June 7, the Patriarch of Lisbon published a decree revoking all their licences to preach and hear confessions. Shortly afterwards, he died and was replaced by Saldanha himself, and the position grew steadily worse. The climax was reached when an attempt was made upon the King's life on December 13. On the principle of *cui bono*, the Society was held to be implicated, and a Royal Letter of January 19, 1759, declared all the professed to be disaffected persons, and ordered their arrest and the sequestration of their goods.<sup>2</sup> A few individuals were removed to state prisons, but the majority were simply confined to their houses. Criminal investigations now followed, and on June 28, the professed were proscribed and banished, while all the property of the Society was confiscated. The Fathers were then, with all haste, deported to the States of the Church. There followed a rupture with Rome, the Portuguese Government, on June 17, 1760, going to the length of expelling the nuncio and breaking diplomatic relations. But anti-Jesuit feeling was gaining ground outside Portugal, and the Vatican had to seek a reconciliation. Spain, France and some of the Italian states now came into line with Portugal in seeking the suppression of the Society as a whole. Finally, on December 10, 1768, the Duc de Choiseul, in the name of the three western Catholic states, addressed to Clement XIII. a direct demand that he should proceed to this step. He was dying, however, and it was left to his successor, Clement XIV., to take it.

As regards the Casa de São Roque, the first event in this history took place on May 2, 1758, when the Senator Manoel Barbarino, attended by soldiers, visited the house.<sup>3</sup> Leaving his guard outside, he saw the Preposito, and called on him to assemble the members of the house. When this had been done, he read the text of the papal commission of April 1, appointing

<sup>1</sup> Contemporary and very pro-Jesuit accounts, with much detail, are C. G. von Murr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Portugal* (Nürnberg, 1787), and an Italian *Vita di Carvalho* (1781), by the ex-Jesuit Francesco Gusta, of which a French translation was published at Lyons in 1784. Citations following are from the French version, entitled *Mémoires de Carvalho*.

<sup>2</sup> Gusta, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 93 and text, pp. 281-91.

<sup>3</sup> *Anecdotes de Carvalho*, p. 143.

Saldanha Reformer of the Society, and then the text of a letter of Carvalho to Saldanha, offering him the aid of the secular arm in carrying out his visitation. The Preposito then had to endorse the copies with a signed note that they had been read in the hearing of the members of the house, after which he went with the Senator to the door, and the incident ended without disturbance of any kind.

The Cardinal-visitor made his state visit on May 30, arriving at five o'clock in the afternoon.<sup>1</sup> He went straight into church by the main door, took his seat on the canopied throne that had been erected for him near the high altar, and received the homage of the members of the house. As soon as this formal visitation was over, he left the church by the same route as he had come, without entering the house, or holding any converse with the members of the house, except such as was completely public.

When the festival of St. Ignatius Loyola came, on July 31, there could be no preaching, but only special music. It appears that there must have been the usual ostension of relics, because it is noted that the Count of San Lourenço knelt throughout the High Mass before the altar of Todos os Santos.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after the attempt on the King's life, in the early afternoon of December 13, an officer's guard of fifteen men with bayonets fixed, was mounted outside the house. The names and addresses of all visitors to the house were taken. Next day a Senator searched the house for contraband.<sup>3</sup> It was apparently the hope of the Government that the case against the Jesuits would be made quite simple, by the discovery, if not of hidden stores of smuggled tobacco, at least of figures in the account books of the Jesuit houses, proving that mercantile transactions had taken place.<sup>4</sup> The search for contraband roused popular excitement. There are tales of hollow walls broken through at the College of St. Antony and the hospice of

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdotes*, p. 149, where the date is wrongly given as June 30. Murr, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., pp. 156-8.

<sup>2</sup> Murr, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 174. The Conde suffered banishment later for his connection with the Jesuits.

<sup>3</sup> Murr, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., pp. 229, 230, and *Anecdotes*, p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Anecdotes*, pp. 243, 246. Saldanha testified to the fruitlessness of this search (p. 224).

St. Francis Borgia.<sup>1</sup> Word went round that the Jesuits had much hidden treasure, and there is one story too scandalous in its detail to be worthy of much credit, but probably echoing the kind of thing people said and believed, of a great digging in the garden of St. Antony's which ended by breaking into a sewer, but there was no treasure-trove. No other explanation is needed, than these contraband-hunts, for subsequent legends of concealed treasure.

Immediately upon the publication of the Royal Letter on January 19, 1759, the guard stopped all intercourse of the Fathers with secular persons. Yet, says one account, the back door of the house remained without any guard until February 5, in the hope that Jesuits might be tempted to escape that way, and so put themselves clearly at the mercy of the law.<sup>2</sup> Sequestration was carried out on February 12 by Senator J. A. Castelbranco. The guard for the occasion was increased to a captain's guard of sixty men, who had been served out with ball ammunition. The Government either feared or pretended to fear that the Jesuits might, at the last resort, incite those under their influence to rebellion. The Senator, accompanied by a notary, first saw the Procurador, taking over his accounts and petty cash, and then went to the Preposito's cell and received the inventory of contents of the house. This was checked off and completed with the most meticulous care. Servants were paid off, odds and ends of a perishable nature sold, and the cellars and cupboards were closed and sealed.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of the College of St. Antony, it is expressly stated that all papers were collected into one room, to be gone through, and it is likely that the same course was pursued generally.<sup>4</sup>

Plate belonging to the chapel of San João Baptista was singled out, presumably as being Royal Chapel property, and removed to the palace. A pro-Jesuit writer says that this was carried out to the disturbance of a High Mass being sung at the High Altar by the parish priests of the Encarnação.<sup>5</sup> This is

<sup>1</sup> *Anecdotes*, pp. 246-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 237, and Murr, *op. cit.*, Pt. II., pp. 34 and 52-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Anecdotes*, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

likely enough to be an invention, especially as the parish had a separate altar of its own. But even so, the form of the story indicates that the church was not closed, but continued to be used by the secular clergy who had been accustomed to serve its altars while the Jesuits were there. The Fathers were removed to another place of confinement, and the house was closed. It lay silent and empty during the following years, except, no doubt, for caretakers.

A Royal edict of February 21, 1761, declared that all buildings and revenue formerly belonging to the Society, except such as were directly dedicated to the *Cultus Dei*, were vacant and forfeit to the crown, and ordered that an inventory should be made of such property as stood charged with the support of altars or works of charity, so that it might be secured under administrators.<sup>1</sup> The use of the church continued on this footing till 1767, when the Government decided to suppress the *confrarias* that had been established by the Jesuits.<sup>2</sup> A decree of August 28 declared that their Articles of Association were no longer legal, and required their members to appear for registration by the magistrates.<sup>3</sup> They continued to exist, however, till 1771, when they were suppressed by edict, and their properties confiscated. A valuation of the goods of the suppressed *confrarias* survives, dated 1774, as also an inventory of "bens, joias, alfaias, etc." of 1775.<sup>4</sup> The old independent cult brotherhood of São Roque was unaffected, and retained its place in the church undisturbed.

The great earthquake of 1755, which spared São Roque in so wonderful a way, completely ruined the buildings of the Confraria da Misericórdia, down near the Cathedral. In the years that followed, its manifold activities were carried on in

<sup>1</sup> Gusta, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 169-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 291-309.

<sup>3</sup> Gusta, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa*, pp. 123-127, and see *Bol. Acad. Sci. de Lisboa*, vol. viii. (1913-4), p. 507.

*Op. cit.*, Tom III. (1909-1910), p. 471, records the fact that the parish of the Encarnação, of which the church had been destroyed in the earthquake, found a temporary home at São Roque. The parishioners had to move out, and seek a new home in 1768. While at São Roque, they used "uma das capellas do claustro."

scattered premises, under conditions of the greatest difficulty. Its work was one that Pombal had at heart. A Royal charter of February 8, 1768, granted the Casa de São Roque to the Confraria da Misericórdia.<sup>1</sup> A great deal needed to be done to fit the buildings for their new use, and funds had to be raised to do so. The property of the suppressed *confrarias* assisted to this end. It amounted to over two hundred thousand escudos.<sup>2</sup> But it was not until 1775 that the buildings were ready to receive the hospital. When the time came, there were scenes of great enthusiasm. The gentlefolk of Lisbon turned out their carriages to transport the sick, and provided stores of linen and other necessities. And in the midst of the work moved the Marquis de Pombal, enjoying what was perhaps one of his dearest triumphs.<sup>3</sup> The members of the suppressed *confrarias* in São Roque were offered membership in the existing Confraria da Misericórdia, which was thus swelled to an unwieldy size, and lost something of its corporate sense and zeal.

The Confraria da Misericórdia had its chaplains, into whose hands the church and all its furnishings now passed. The old Brotherhood of São Roque was not displaced. But the parishioners of the Encarnação were provided for elsewhere, and the church became the church of the institution. The decadence of the Confraria da Misericórdia at last necessitated its extinction in 1836. The benevolent work which it had existed to maintain was then given a charter and constitution as a public charitable institution. In this there was provision for the chaplaincy as an official post.

This was the state of things right down to the revolution. In the secularisation of the Misericórdia which followed as a consequence of its status as a public institution, the office of Chaplain was abolished. The church building continued to be part of the property of the institution, and under the control

<sup>1</sup> *Bol. Acad. Sci. de Lisboa*, vol. viii. (1913-4), p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa*, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Gusta, *op. cit.*, vol. iv., p. 95, and Carnota, *op. cit.*, p. 318, from which latter passage it appears that there was an attempt to name the new hospital with the name of São José, in Pombal's honour. The name passed to the newer city hospital; there are no longer wards in the Casa da Misericórdia.



of the administration. But the facilities for the use of the building for public cultus were permitted here as in other churches. And in consequence, it now houses a church life no different from that of any of the parish churches. It is, in fact, the parish church of that district. And so it has come about that in that rich and sumptuous building, maintained in excellent order, a poor town working-class congregation meets for worship.

In all this history of changing circumstances, a remarkable feature is the complete lack of disturbance of the buildings and their movable contents. At each change, everything has passed over as one property, in so smooth and orderly a manner that no pilfering or dispersion of this rich treasury of church plate, objects of art, and the like, has taken place. This being the case with things that might constitute a temptation to those who had opportunity to remove them, it is not surprising if things of less generally appreciated value have fared no worse. It has already been indicated that the singular treasure of relics of saints survives. And making all allowance for the risks to which such things are liable, one might reasonably expect that papers and records which were once put by for preservation, would still survive.

It was this consideration that led me to visit Lisbon in 1930 in the hope of examining any papers referring to the collection of relics that might have been preserved. The motive for this, as has been stated in the preface, was curiosity as to the provenance of a particular relic, the reputed head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. In the case of this relic, I knew that there had been documentary authentication. Such documents had been preserved by the Jesuits. And Sr. Ribeiro notified the chance discovery in a cupboard, in 1901, of a tin box containing what was evidently, from the brief note which he printed, a fairly complete documentation of the relics possessed by São Roque.

The tin box promised to make an easier matter of the search, if only I could get the kind interest of the appropriate authorities. Here it was the great kindness of Professor Edgar Prestage that opened the way. He introduced me to Tenente

Coronel A. B. da Costa Veiga, Director da Biblioteca Nacional, who in turn furnished me with a most generous introduction to the Provedor of the Casa da Misericordia, who directed that I should be given the help I sought. So I came into the hands of the present Archivist, Senhor Santos Ferreira, who was kindness itself. His office, like a college bursary, combines the current business of a big institution with the custody of a large and miscellaneous accumulation of papers retained from by-gone days. Fortunately for me, his predecessors had not been given to the use of tin boxes, and the object of my search was easily found, under a shelf in the muniment room, where, no doubt, Sr. Ribeiro had stowed it in the hope of devoting to it the study which instead it has fallen to me to give.

## CHAPTER I

### THE TIN BOX

SR. RIBEIRO wrote, on p. 271 of his *Santa Casa*, "Recently, during 1901, while this book was already in the press, the precious collection came to light, by pure chance, locked up in a tin box, fastened with a padlock, in a cupboard in the corridors of the building."<sup>1</sup> In 1930 the tin box was under a shelf in the *arquivo*, or muniment-room, without any padlock, but with its contents in order, and for the most part closed in largish trade envelopes. The box itself is a small tin trunk, unpainted, exactly like many that could be found in solicitors' offices. It might be up to a hundred years old.

There are, in the box, some eighty-four documents. In form, they range from handsome parchments embellished with fine seals in boxes, attached by cords, to tattered and faded scraps of note-paper, hastily written in current hand. But in content, nearly all of them are authentications of relics. The presumption is that the relics authenticated are relics in the church of São Roque, and the consideration of them in detail confirms the fact that they are such. The enveloping of the deeds was Sr. Ribeiro's work, as the hand shews. He wrote a number on each envelope. It will be convenient to accept this numeration (although it seems haphazard and without reference to classification), and to cite the deeds by the numbers which Sr. Ribeiro gave to them. But who gathered these documents into the tin box? Naturally, Sr. Ribeiro put this question, at the time of the discovery, and answered it by reference to events which occurred in 1842.<sup>2</sup> These were such as to attract considerable

<sup>1</sup> "Recentemente, no anno de 1901, em que este livro se estava já imprimindo, encontrou-se casualmente a preciosa collecção, encerrada em uma caixa de folha, fechada a cadeado, em um armario, nos corredores do edificio."

<sup>2</sup> He cites, on p. 271, from the *Revista Universal*, the following: "No dia 29 de maio de 1842, quando por ordem da Comissão Adminis-

attention at the time, as notices in the contemporary press attest. But the main source of information is a small pamphlet<sup>1</sup> bound in a green paper cover, issued in 1843 from the Imprensa Nacional at Lisbon. It bears no author's name, but is attributed to the then chaplain of the Casa da Misericórdia, Francisco de Salles. In 1842, it says, the Comissão Administrativa of the Casa was in session when a message was brought in that "um venerando ancião" stood without, wishing to impart some mysterious information to the Comissão. When the old fellow was granted a hearing, he said that in his boyhood he used to hear old people tell that Jesuit treasure lay hidden under the surface of the walls of the church. Acting on his deposition, the Comissão ordered the removal of a large picture at the back of the altar of *Onze Mil Virgens*. Behind it were found doors, and when these were opened, there appeared an ample recess, filled from top to bottom with valuable reliquaries.<sup>2</sup> Then other similar finds were made. The corresponding recess behind the altar of *Todos os Santos* was another hidden treasury. And there was a third, possibly at the back of one of the other altars against the same wall. Besides these recesses, there were smaller hiding places behind the retables and panelling of apparently the same altars. Some of the reliquaries, says the "Descobrimento," were of the finest workmanship.<sup>3</sup> But it does not appear that the researches of the

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trativa se estava removendo um grande quadro no fundo da capella lateral do altar-mór, do lado da epistola, acharam-se por detraz umas portas, que abrindo-se descobriram um espaçoso vão, cujos lados, fundo e abobada estavam guarnecidos de reliquias e imagens preciosas." He cites also an article in the *Universo pittoresco*.

<sup>1</sup> Referred to hereafter as the "Descobrimento."

<sup>2</sup> See the citation above. The "imagens preciosas" were, in all probability, nothing but the bust-shaped reliquaries in which a number of the relics are contained.

<sup>3</sup> The "Descobrimento" gives a list of the reliquaries discovered, and their contents. Thus, reliquary No. 39 is in the chapel of *Onze Mil Virgens*, and is "a kind of wooden cushion covered with red velvet" upon which rests the skull of St. Crysanthus of Basle.

Reliquary No. 51 contains small relics, St. Eustace and two nameless saints, the Apostles Philip and Bartholomew, Pope Sixtus, Saints Lawrence, Maurice, Longinus, Adalbert, Clement of Rome, Wenceslaus, Clement the martyr (*i.e.*, of the company of St. Ursula), Julian, Theo-

Commissão were rewarded by the discovery of any fabulous "Jesuit gold." If the Misericórdia gained materially by the find, it was through the splendid advertisement it provided. And this seems to have been well used. The recovered relics were prepared for exposition. And on January 25 (1843), a day marked in the calendar of São Roque in connection with the donation of some of the most famous relics, the veneration of the recovered sacred treasure was solemnly inaugurated. The Royal Family assisted at a pontifical Mass, and a *Te Deum* was sung. All this is described in our little green-covered pamphlet entitled *Memoria do descobrimento e achado das sagradas reliquias de S. Roque*.<sup>1</sup>

Its probable author, the chaplain, de Salles, was the person most busied in this matter. We may reasonably conclude that he was the person who gathered the deeds of authentication into the tin box. The pamphlet says: "The Casa has and preserves in its archives many of the deeds of authentication that accompanied these same relics."<sup>2</sup> We should suppose, then, that he found the deeds already together as a collection among the papers of the house.<sup>3</sup> Balthazar Tellez, who in 1647 published the second part of his chronicle of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, mentions such a collection as being kept then in the cell of the Preposito. The author of the "Descobrimiento" says that the deeds were "all checked and examined

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dore, Martin of Trier, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Felix and Marius of Trier, Charlemagne, Crysanthus, Wigbert and Nicodemus. It will be seen later that we have here a thorough mixing up of small relics that started their history in different reliquaries. This reliquary No. 51 is described as a coffer (*coffre*). Its contents may be seen to-day in a shallow plain wooden case with a glass front, such as might be used for the display of butterflies, in which wooden slats radiate from a ring compartment in the centre. Each of the compartments so formed contains a ticketed relic, and the case is stood up on edge on the top shelf of the glazed monstrance-cupboard behind the altar of Todos os Santos.

<sup>1</sup> "An account of the chance discovery of the sacred relics of São Roque."

<sup>2</sup> "La Casa . . . possui e guarda no seu archivo, muitas das Autenticas que acompanham as mesmas Reliquias."

<sup>3</sup> The author says: "Estes Breves e autenticas existem no cartorio da Casa da Misericórdia" (These letters and deeds of authentication are extant in the muniment-room of the Casa da Misericórdia).

by the Visitor, the Vicar-general of the Archdiocese of Lisbon, on December 18, 1683.”<sup>1</sup> An old inventory in the tin box may be judged by script to be a possible fruit of this visitation. It shows that we have all that there were in 1683 and some more.

The transmission of the documents has therefore been singularly untroubled. As they arrived in company with the relics with which they are connected, they were added to the collection in the cell of the Preposito. When the house passed into the hands of the Misericórdia, a room was set aside as *archivo* or *cartorio*, and all papers removed hither. The events of 1842 brought these particular papers very much into notice. Then, in the upshot, their removal from the *archivo* caused them to be effectually lost, until 1901. But within the collection itself there has been no loss or dispersion, except that, recently, the most handsome of them, an illuminated parchment with the arms, seal and signature of the Emperor Rudolph II. has been removed to the Museum in the sacristy of São Roque, its place in the tin box being taken by a foolscap sheet bearing, in Sr. Ribeiro’s hand, a Portuguese translation of the Latin text.

The treasure of relics seems to have suffered no more disturbance than the deeds. The greater ones have been set out in perpetual exposition in the recesses behind the altars of *Onze Mil Virgens* and *Todos os Santos*, where they were so dramatically rediscovered. These recesses were glazed and fitted as monstrance cupboards by the then Provedor, at the Fourth Centenary of the Misericórdia in 1898. Four of the side chapels, namely *do Santissimo*, *São Roque*, *Nossa Senhora da Doutrina*, and *Nossa Senhora da Piedade*, contain gilded structural decorative work on their upper walls, in which a great number of small glazed receptacles for minor relics form part of the design. It does not seem likely that much, if any, change has taken place in the contents of these permanent monstrances. Some objects of other kinds, that were found in the recesses in 1842, were presumably removed to other parts of the building. Even so, the reliquaries that remain are

<sup>1</sup> “Todas verificadas e julgadas pelo Provisor, Vigário Geral do Arcebispado de Lisboa em 18 Dec. 1683.”

almost sufficient to fill the available room in the monstrance cupboards.

We have more than one record of the disposition of the relics in time past. The most important is a manuscript, now MS. No. 207 in the Biblioteca Nacional, at Lisbon. It is dated 1636, and is in the hand of a priest called Manoel da Veiga. As he was a member of the Casa de São Roque, and a great part of his work is devoted to the condition and value of reliquaries, his source for this is presumably a visitation document. He tells what relics belonged to what chapels, thus: "In the chapel entitled the chapel of the holy martyrs are placed the relics of martyrs, bishops, and confessors (for which reason it is called the martyrs' chapel) which are as follows."<sup>1</sup> This is the old dedication of the chapel that is now called *Todos os Santos*, and the same principle as Veiga describes has been followed in the choice of contents for the present monstrance cupboard. The same is true of *Onze Mil Virgens*. It may be said therefore that the relics are distributed almost exactly, now, as they were in 1636. The "Descobrimento" gives the numbers as follows—*Todos os Santos*, 288; *Onze Mil Virgens*, 653; *do Santissimo*, 176; *da Doutrina*, 31; *da Piedade*, 29. No number is given for the chapel of São Roque. Whatever was there belonged to the Brotherhood. It is possible that the monstrances of this chapel afforded a home to the relics belonging to the *Agonisantes*,<sup>2</sup> and the other extinct *confrarias*.

But it does not appear that in the Jesuit days the major relics were perpetually exposed to view, as now. Jorge Cardoso, in his *Agiologio Lusitano* (1652), speaks of relics that can be seen at the altars of *os Martires* and *Onze Mil Virgens*, and elsewhere, but adds that others are "placed about on shelves behind the retables, which hide them."<sup>3</sup> and goes on to

<sup>1</sup> "Na capella que se intitula dos SS. Martires se collocaram as reliquias que pertencem aos SS. Martires, Pontificos e confessores, pertoque se denomina por capella dos Martires, e sam as seguintes." (See f. 17b in the MS.)

<sup>2</sup> Ribeiro, in the *Bol. Ac. Sci. de Lisboa*, Tom. III., p. 489, cites a printed book of 1690 on the Confraria dos *Agonisantes*, which shews that the *confraria* possessed relics.

<sup>3</sup> "Distribuidas em degraos detras dos retabolos, que as cobrem."

speak of "the travelling cases which bear them abroad on festal occasions"<sup>1</sup> which are similarly stored, for use at these special times. It is clear, then, that many relics and the most remarkable reliquaries were, at the time when the fortunes of the Jesuit Fathers were at their brightest, shut up in these hidden repositories, and only brought out on ostension days. This fact throws a curious light on a passage in the "*Descobrimento*." This is to the effect that the Jesuits, as though they had some secret presentiment of the approaching disaster, hid away the sacred treasure against the possibility of profanation, having taken the precaution previously of emptying the house of all outsiders.<sup>2</sup>

The passage in Cardoso explodes the whole romantic tale.<sup>3</sup> There *was* no wonderful secrecy, when the hiding place of the treasures was printed in every copy of *Agiologio Lusitano*.<sup>4</sup> The story of the secret hiding shews two things. It shews how the widespread reputation of the Jesuits for subtlety has created stories to keep itself alive. And it shews that though there had been a proper hand-over of the property, before the Fathers were hurried out, there was subsequent negligence, and of the things they left behind them, those that were not seen were not found. The customary ostensions of relics must have ceased,

<sup>1</sup> "Os vadiços, os quaes as tirão fora nos solemnos dias." From what follows, he clearly means by *vadiços* the reliquaries that will later be described as carried in procession. It would seem, therefore, that the relics were taken out of these cases, when stored away.

<sup>2</sup> "Como se tivissem um presentimento intimo da catástrofe . . . despejou a quella casa de seus habitadores, ordenaram e enghenham por detras dos retabolos e painels dos mesmos altares, certos nichos ou occultos santuarios, onde as santas reliquias estivessem reservadas, e a salvo das contingencias e profanações, que a roda dos tempos e das fortunas podesse ai arretar lhes."

<sup>3</sup> The "contrivance" of secret places exactly where Cardoso described the ordinary storage places as being, gives the true value of the "*Descobrimento*" story.

<sup>4</sup> Cardoso speaks of the relics as "*distribuidas en degraos detras dos retabolos, que as cobrem, e são le vadiços, os quaes es tirão fora, nos solemnos dias, que se mostram, ficando ellas então expostos, onde são visitados, e se conservão engastadas e custosamente orneadas, as menores em custodias, as canellas em braços e pés, as maiores e cabeças, huas em corpos de madeira dourados, outros de prata.*"

The rest, he says, were at the altars of *os Martires* and *Onze Mil Virgens*; that is, exactly where they were found in 1842.



and the fact that they did not revive when the chaplains of the Misericórdia came into possession, nine years later, shows that at the time of the expulsion, whatever the *confrarias* and the parishioners of the Encarnação may have done, no general public administration of the church continued. The public administration of the church under the Misericórdia, whether when it was a Confraria, or when it was a Royal Charitable Institution, or since the separation of Church and State, bears no comparison with the administration of the church by the Jesuit Fathers. The glories of São Roque belong to the Jesuit period entirely. In particular, the treasure of relics has received no enhancement since their day. And consequently the history, in so far as a history is possible, which is needed to serve as an introduction to an understanding of the contents of the tin box, is a history of the efforts made by the Jesuit Fathers to enrich their church with relics, and of the circumstances through which they attained such remarkable success. Of this history, the first part tells of the efforts of the Society to secure a collection adequate to the church, and its importance as centre of their influence. The second tells of the Borgian donation of 1588, whereby the relics of São Roque became famous. And the third tells of minor accessions stretching over the remaining period of Jesuit possession of the church. The Borgian donation is the outstanding event, and the deeds connected with it form the most important element in the contents of the tin box. The story of the donation will form the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DONATION OF DON JUAN DE BORGIA

IN 1588, the church of São Roque was completely out of the builders' hands, and in full use. It contained many sacred relics, because, as some of the papers in the tin box shew, the Fathers had laid plans for this provision as soon as they entered upon the last stage of the construction. But their activities were not such as to leave a mark upon the pages of general contemporary history. It was otherwise with the donation<sup>1</sup> made by Don Juan de Borgia and Doña Francesca de Aragon, his wife. In the first place, the circumstances at Lisbon at this time were such as to lend special significance to any public religious act. Since 1586, when Philip II. of Spain, now master of Portugal, had come over to the decision to fit an armada against England, ships and men had been assembling in Lisbon harbour under the High Admiral, Santa Cruz. As is well known, the last part of the story of the preparation for the expedition is lamentable.<sup>2</sup> But that is subsequent to the death of Santa Cruz in February, 1588. Through the previous winter enthusiasm ran high. To some extent, it was being worked for. The Portuguese were sulky with resentment at their subjection to the Spanish crown. But enthusiasts of many nations crowded the streets of Lisbon, and ecclesiastical agencies laboured to maintain a white heat of fervour. Among these, none was itself so white hot as the Company of Jesus, the work of whose English brethren stood to be so deeply affected by the success of the Armada. It was therefore singularly opportune that the Lisbon house of the Society should be able, at this

<sup>1</sup> As the word "Descobrimento" has been adopted to designate the events of 1842, so it will be convenient to refer to those of 1588 by the title "Recebimento", that is, the reception of relics.

<sup>2</sup> The story is most admirably told in English, in James Anthony Froude's *The Spanish Story of the Armada*, 1892. He does not, however, notice the "Recebimento", which fits into his picture, exactly.

juncture, to carry out a grandiose "Recebimento," or reception of relics, which might not only figure a march of the saints into Lisbon in comradeship with the assembling forces of the Faith, but, as our principal informant<sup>1</sup> says, be an occasion of confusion of the heretics, who are especially enemies of relics.

Don Juan's collection of relics had previously been destined for the chapel of the Escorial. But the plan was now changed. Antonio Franco<sup>2</sup> makes Pedro da Fonseca the person from whom the impulse originated, and gives him the credit for the organization of the "Recebimento" arrangements. It says a great deal for his energy and boldness of mind. His plea that the relics should be given to São Roque was sure of a good reception from Don Juan, because of the great part his father had played in the establishment of the Casa de São Roque. But the King must also have viewed the matter favourably, and the Armada provides an explanation.

Don Juan de Borgia,<sup>3</sup> third son of St. Francis Borgia, had

<sup>1</sup> Manoel de Campos, a description of whose work will follow. This thought was very much in the minds of the people with whom we have to do. It made the Reformed appear diabolical, and the foes of religion, to folk in whose piety the cultus of the saints played so great a part.

<sup>2</sup> *Annus Gloriosus, S.J. in Lusitania* (1720), under November 4.

Fonseca "adeptus est a Joanne Borgia, filio sancti Francisci Borgiae, Reliquiarum Sanctuarium sacris lipsanis repertissimum ac ditissimum. Hunc thesaurum excepit processione tam plena pompæ ut Ulyssipone ad id tempus simile quid non sit visum."

<sup>3</sup> Don Juan was born in 1533, at Belpuche in Catalonia, while his parents were following the court of the Emperor Charles V. In 1550 he accompanied his father to Rome. On his return, he took a commission in a regiment in the province of Guipuscoa. He married, in 1551, a lady of the house of Loyola, who soon died childless, and he married, later, Francesca de Aragon y Barreto, daughter of Nunes Rodriques Barreto, Count of Mayalda. Through this marriage, the county of Mayalda came to Don Juan. He did not receive the Portuguese county of Ficalho, which he had in his own right, until 1599, when it was bestowed upon him by Philip III. His other honours, as given by M. Caetano de Sousa, *Historia genealogica da Casa Real*, Tom. XI. (1745), p. 461, were Vedor da Fazenda, Comendador de Azuaga, and Treze da Ordem de Santiago (in the Spanish branch; the "Thirteen" formed the Council of the Order).

His diplomatic service began with a mission to King Sebastião of Portugal. Then, in 1576, he succeeded d'Almazar as Spanish ambassador at the imperial court of Maximilian II., then at Regensburg. There Maria took him into her household as Chief Chamberlain, in which office he returned with her to Madrid in 1581. After her death, he served Queen Margarita of Spain in the same capacity. He died at Madrid in

spent his life in the service of the Royal House of Spain. For five years he had been ambassador at the court of Rudolph II., combining that office with the post of *Maior Domo Maior*, or Chief Chamberlain to the Empress-mother, Philip's sister, Maria. He had availed himself of the opportunities then afforded of forming a private collection of sacred relics, of unprecedented size<sup>1</sup> and importance. His own irreproachable character as a catholic, and the troubled conditions prevailing in the empire,<sup>2</sup> helped towards this end. But he left Prague in 1581. Maria finding her influence over her son declining, and notwithstanding the angry protests of Gregory XIII.,<sup>3</sup> set out, on August 1 of that year, for her own land, and Borgia went with her. After this he remained in Spain, and in 1587 it was decided that the relics should be given to São Roque, instead of the Escorial. The whole great collection was therefore once more put on the road, and reached Lisbon towards the close of the year. It was not taken at once to São Roque, but in the first instance to the Cathedral, so that its actual reception at São Roque might be carried out with every possible public solemnity. And from this moment we have as full information as could be desired. The Viceroy, Cardinal Archduke Albert, arranged for the publication of an elegant little souvenir book,<sup>4</sup>

1606, and his remains were afterwards removed to São Roque, where they still are.

Summaries of his life may be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, October 10, and in P. de Ribadaneyra, *Vita Francisci Borgiæ*, Book I., c. 4 (Latin version of 1603, Antwerp, p. 14).

Information on his career in Germany may be gathered from *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, 1576-85, Abt. III., Bd. II., Joseph Hansen, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> In this same year, 1588, Don Juan joined his brother, the Duke of Gandia, in providing a collection of sacred relics for the Jesuit College at Gandia (Antonio Franco, *Synopsis Annalium*, *sub anno*).

<sup>2</sup> The papacy seems to have adopted a policy of encouraging approved persons in the collection of relics from churches neglected or endangered by the advance of Protestantism in their vicinity. The relics were thereby saved from profanation, and anti-Protestant enthusiasm was stimulated in the places to which the relics were carried.

<sup>3</sup> The Pope held that as she exerted a beneficial influence over her son, it was her duty to remain in Prague. See G. P. Maffei, *Degli Annali di Gregorio XIII.* (Rome, 1742), Tom. II., p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> *Relaçam do solenne recebimento que se fez em Lisboa ás santas reliquias que se leváram á igreja de S. Roque da Companhia de Jesu, aos 25*

written in Portuguese by Manoel de Campos, and printed in Lisbon in 1589. A Castilian translation by Alvaro de Veancos was also prepared, and printed at Alcala in the following year. From these we learn that the relics were richly provided with documents of authentication, which received canonical inspection by the Archbishop of Lisbon, Miguel de Castro, or rather by his "Provisor,"<sup>1</sup> Doctor Christovão de Matos.<sup>2</sup> The proceedings were being scrupulously ordered in accordance with the First Decree of the Twenty-fifth Session of the Council of Trent. According to this, *novæ reliquiae non sunt recipiendæ nisi recognoscente et approbante episcopo*. He must have *aliquid compertum de iis*, and for that purpose is to call theologians and other pious men into council, and so do whatever truth and piety seem to demand. So closely was the letter of this decree observed in the case of the Borgia relics that the Jesuit confessor to Borgia and his wife, Padre Francisco Antonio, who superintended the journey of the relics from Madrid to Lisbon, observed secrecy in bringing them,<sup>3</sup> presumably lest they should receive any public recognition before their approval by the Ordinary. This sets the tone of the "Recebimento." It was to be a model of the way in which the veneration of relics should be carried out.

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*de Janeiro de 1588* (Lisbon, 1589). The author, described in his book as *Licenceado em Canones*, became Canon of Faro, and was a native of Lisbon. (*Bibliographia Portugetze, s.n.*)

<sup>1</sup> The office of Provisor, or Vicar-general, carried with it all such visitation duties. The personal visit of Archbishop Miguel is a special gesture. In the previous year there had been rather a serious strain between the Archbishop and the Jesuits, at Lisbon, in which the former had been hasty, and put himself in the wrong. The "Recebimento" offered a good opportunity to restore cordiality. See Antonio Franco, *Synopsis Annalium, sub anno 1586*.

<sup>2</sup> *Relaçam*, f. 5a. Dom Miguel de Castro . . . veio em pessoa a sacello, con alguns officaes seus, e lidas parte por simesmo, parte pello Doutor Christovão de Matos, seu Provisor, todas as patentes . . .

Miguel de Castro, formerly bishop of Vizeu, was later Viceroy of Portugal and died in 1625. He left in manuscript a *De Viris Illustribus* (J. B. de Sousa Farinha, *Summario da Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 1786, Tom III., p. 219).

<sup>3</sup> *Relaçam*, f. 4a., Chegadas pois as santas reliquias de Madrid secretamente á Lisboa, as 17 do mes d'Outubro do anno de 1587, acompanhando as o Padre Francisco Antonio, da Companhia de Jesu, de Toledo, confessor dos ditos senhores.

Archbishop Miguel was more than satisfied with the authentications. Many of the relics were found to be not only venerable, but of moving appeal to catholics because they had been rescued from lands infested with heresy.<sup>1</sup> Their coming to faithful Portugal appears to de Campos like the children of Israel carrying Joseph's bones up out of Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, replied to the official intimation of Borgia's donation with the offer of the *Capella-môr*, or chancel, in São Roque as a perpetual place of sepulture for the Borgia family, and the promise of a Mass daily on behalf of the Borgia dead.

The Viceroy purposed<sup>3</sup> that the procession that was to carry the relics from the Cathedral to São Roque should surpass in magnificence anything that had been seen in Lisbon since 1173, when King Alfonso Henriquez brought to Lisbon the relics of St. Vincent, from thenceforth Patron of the city.<sup>4</sup> For such a ceremony it was of paramount importance that the day should be fine. This was fairly safe if the preparations were not delayed, since the weather usually turns fine and bright in Lisbon about Martinmas (November 11), so that people speak of *O veranico de São Martinho* (St. Martin's little summer). But though the relics arrived in Lisbon on October 17, the elaborate character of the preparations put off the day of translation till after this favourable period was past. So, on November 17, the feast of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, whose head was among the relics, the Jesuit Fathers said Mass in his honour with intention to obtain fine weather for the day of translation, which had now been postponed to December 2. But in spite of these

<sup>1</sup> *Relaçam*, f. 3a, De provincias tam inficionadas de heregia onde estavam em perigo de serem desacatados e queimados, como foran outras reliquias de santos em algumas partes de Alemanha e Inglaterra pellos hereges.

<sup>2</sup> This was a current commonplace (see below, p. 149).

<sup>3</sup> So de Campos; we have seen that Franco gives the credit to Fonseca. While the two accounts are not necessarily contradictory, it is not improbable that Franco somewhat exaggerates Fonseca's part in the transaction.

<sup>4</sup> The body of the saint was translated from the *martyrium* on Cape St. Vincent. See Jorge Cardoso, *Agiologio Lusitano*, under January 22, the day of his festival. The translation was on September 16.

devotions, the weather proved so definitely unfavourable that on the day it thundered and lightened, while the rain fell in torrents. The saint's reply was an emphatic negative. This was disconcerting, but pious minds were quick to grasp his meaning.<sup>1</sup> Since he and all these new saints his companions had come, as it were, to be guests of St. Vincent, the Patron of the city, it was right and proper that he, as their host, should obtain the fine day for their translation. There are miracles of humility as well as of faith! And St. Gregory Thaumaturgus had added one such to his many glories.

So December passed, and January came. And on January 21, St. Vincent's eve, towards evening, the weather turned beautifully fine<sup>2</sup> and so remained for just ten days. At once they started on the decorations, and worked with a will, so that the translation might take place on the 25th, the Conversion of St. Paul, some of whose relics were included in the treasure. It was observed that the weather held not only for the occasion but throughout the octave, and then broke again, making the people of Lisbon proud of their Patron, and his model behaviour as a host. On the 24th, all-night vigil was kept in São Roque, which was brilliantly illuminated. And when morning came without wind or rain, the streets quickly filled with dense crowds. Visitors came, it was said, from thirty and forty leagues away. Places in windows on the route fetched high prices, especially in the tall houses of the Rua Nova. At nine o'clock the procession moved off from the Cathedral. First came the children of the catechism, wreathed with flowers and variously habited as friars and clerks, with their image of the Child Jesus, and emblems. Then followed the notables of Lisbon and the *confrarias*, a procession with some hundred

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. 6a, Mostrou elle (como piamente se pode crer) que não era menos milagroso na humilidade que na fee . . . porque acudindo na quelle dia com grandes trov es, relampagos et extraordinaria chuva, pareceo dar á entender que deixava esta honra e officio ao glorioso sam Vicente, Padroeiro desta cidade e domicilio, que elle com os mais santos vinham buscar, a quem por direito de hospede tocava negociar com Deos a qualidade do tempo que pera tal recebimento se requeria.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. 6b, Subitamente antre as dez e as onze horas se mudou em tanta bonança e serenidade. . . .

processional crosses, besides banners and lights. Three hundred religious followed, and then the secular clergy, the Cathedral chapter and other dignitaries, and finally the Archbishop, and the Dean of the Chapel Royal.<sup>1</sup> At intervals in the long procession came richly adorned litters, twelve in all, each laden with reliquaries, and borne on the shoulders of four priests clad in dalmatics.<sup>2</sup> The route from the Cathedral to São Roque is quite formidable for such a procession. It is about a mile, and up hill most of the way.

We are told that they started by the Rua da Padaria, and made the first station at Santa Engracia,<sup>3</sup> where there was a dramatic representation of her story; thence to the Praça Pelourinho Velho to be greeted by angels; so on to the Rua Nova, for salutation by the saints of Portugal. A triumphal arch by the church of Nossa Senhora da Oliveira made a station for the declamation of verses in honour of the relics. It is not now possible to trace the route so far,<sup>4</sup> because of the destruc-

<sup>1</sup> Dom Manoel de Ceabra.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. 11a . . . andores feitos de novo pera este acto, ricamente guarnecidos de ouro e sedas, os quaes leváram em seus hombros quarenta e oito clerigos, revestidos em almaticas ricas, não contando os que hiam de fora pera se revezarem, com os quaes eram sessenta.

<sup>3</sup> That is not the present-day Santa Engracia (which lies east of the Cathedral, and outside the then walls of the city), but an earlier church of that dedication, which stood to the west of the Cathedral, and was demolished in the seventeenth century, in consequence of its desecration by an act of sacrilege.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Zeiller's *Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ Itinerarium* (Amsterdam, 1656) contains, opposite p. 212, a plate of Lisbon from high above the river, so as to exhibit the city in plan. No names are inserted, but the buildings can mostly be identified, and are substantially as they were in 1588. It seems that the procession went by a straighter route than would be practicable now. The Porta Santa Catherina, with its four turrets, can be distinguished on the ground that would now be the crest of the rise in the Rua Garrett. The Loreto church (not the present building, but a predecessor on the same site) stands just outside, but almost touching the city wall. From the Postigo da Trindade there are no houses on the right of what is now the Rua do Mundo, but just a strip of waste ground outside the wall, right up to the front of São Roque. (This became a refuse dump, and Fonseca had to take vigorous steps to get it cleared.)

The São Roque buildings nearly touch the city wall, which at that point turn sharply and descend the hill just inside the present Calçada da Gloria. An olive-yard crowns the slope, and the only neighbour-



tion and reconstruction that has taken place on this ground, now the business centre of Lisbon, between the Rossio and the river. But when they came to the Porta Santa Catharina, where was another triumphal arch, they came into the line of the modern Rua Garrett. Thence they turned right at the Loreto, and so up the hill to São Roque, as one would to-day. There was a "Corinthian" arch to greet them, halfway, at the then Postigo da Trindade, that gives its name to the modern theatre. At each halt the litters were set down and bearers changed, while the crowd took the opportunity to press forward and touch the reliquaries with rosaries. The journey took up the whole morning. And when at last the procession arrived at the Praça de São Roque, where the statue of St. Roch was set forth before the entrance, the Viceroy was waiting in state to receive the relics. When they had been carried into the church, he visited each of the principal relics in turn, the Dean of the Chapel Royal presenting them for veneration. It was between three and four in the afternoon before he returned to his palace. State business prevented his further participation in a series of ceremonies that continued through the octave. On the 26th there was pontifical high Mass in São Roque, with a sermon by Padre Ignacio Martins, a Father Theologian of the house.<sup>1</sup> So relates the Licenciado Manoel de Campos, and proceeds to print sonnets and poems written for the occasion by all the representatives of culture and fashion in Lisbon. All week long the crowds visited the relics exposed for veneration. Many signs

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building to São Roque is the convent of São Pedro d'Alcantara, just as it stands to-day.

<sup>1</sup> Published also separately as *Pregação feita no dia da collocação das santas reliquias em a Casa professa de S. Roque a 26 de Janeiro de 1588.* (Farinha, *Summario da bibliotheca Lusitana*, Tom. II., p. 240.)

Of the sonnets, Farinha mentions one by Father Bonaventura Machado (Tom. I., p. 284), some by Francisco Lopes, physician to Queen Catherine (Tom. II., p. 85) and others by the famous Lisbon poet, Luiz Franco (Tom. III., p. 42). Father Martins' sermon was on the utility of devotion to holy relics. Hermann Crombach, *S. Ursula Vindicata* (Cologne, 1647), pp. 706-11, concludes a summary of de Campos' book with a note otherwise obtained, telling that a prize of 40 ducats was offered for the best sonnet composed for the occasion, and won by Fernando Mascarenhas, afterwards Bishop of Algarve.

of divine approval were noted, and the occasion was crowned by the reception of a papal grant, sent with the relics, from Sixtus V., of Jubilee in the church of São Roque on four occasions in the year,<sup>1</sup> the commemorations of the four principal relics in the Borgia donation, namely, February 1, for St. Brigit, whose head was among them; May 3, the Invention of the Cross, for the pieces of the True Cross; October 21, for relics of the eleven thousand virgins, companions of St. Ursula; and November 17, for the head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. And the Bollandists, in due course, treated the occasion as a translation, and gave it a place in *Acta Sanctorum* under January 25.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. 4b . . . com ellas hum jubileu perpetuo, pera quatro dias no anno, concedido pello Papa Sixto 5.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE LISTS OF RELICS

THE details of the "Recebimento" given in the last chapter have their interest in letting us breathe the atmosphere of the Counter-reformation, as it surrounds the cultus of relics—an atmosphere of which our documents are redolent. But what is most important for further study is the list which de Campos gives of the relics, in order of the *Andores*, or litters, on which they were carried. This is as follows:

##### FIRST LITTER.

A reliquary in the form of a gilt metal bust of a Virgin, the face painted in natural colours. This was to shew the skull of one of the eleven thousand virgins, pierced by a square arrow hole. The bust was set on top of a black wooden box with four round metal feet, which actually contained the skull. Windows in the tops of the sides enabled it to be viewed, and a silver shield on the front of the box bore the inscription engraved.

A silver-gilt reliquary with an oval crystal, through which to view the relic, a large relic of St. Barbara, which came from the monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Torcello. It was a gift from the Senoria of Venice to the Empress Maria. Another similar reliquary with a relic of St. Cordula. The skull of one of the eleven thousand virgins, on a little silk cushion on a silver plate.

##### SECOND LITTER.

Another skull of a Cologne virgin similarly displayed.

Another silver-gilt reliquary with an oval crystal, containing a large bone of St. Procopius, the Patron of Bohemia.

Two more skulls mounted as above, being those of St. Crysanthus, Bishop of Basle, and of another Cologne virgin.

##### THIRD LITTER.

A bust of a virgin mounted on a box as before. This one contained the skull of St. Geva resting on a carmine velvet cushion adorned with silver spangles.

An arm-shaped reliquary with three windows, containing the arm of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

Another like it, with the arm of St. Josippa.

An arm reliquary with an oval crystal window holding a large bone of the arm of St. Matthias.

#### FOURTH LITTER.

A silver cross weighing some 200 ounces, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  palms high. It had a pattern in relief, gilded in parts, and fourteen rings of gold set with pearls. Its base was worked in the same way. The cross had at its centre a crystal through which you could see what was within, which was in fact a cross made of wood of the true cross, and mounted on a gold calvary. This was not one of the Borgia relics, but the General, Aquaviva, had sent it, that it might be borne in the "Recebimento" procession.

A silver-gilt arm reliquary, with four windows, containing a relic of St. Otto of Bamberg, apostle of Pomerania.

Another similar arm reliquary with a picture of a bishop on it. Further, it was evidently a bishop's arm by the position of the fingers, as in blessing. Inside the fingers could be seen a finger with flesh on it, and in the thumb could be seen a complete tendon of an arm, both being of St. John the Almsgiver. In the arm itself was an arm-bone of the same saint, with a tendon attached to it.

(The story of the origin of this relic, as told in the deed of authentication, then follows, in brief.)

#### FIFTH LITTER.

Another bust reliquary like the first, with the skull of a virgin of Cologne.

Another skull on a silver plate.

Another, likewise, being that of a member of the Theban legion.

A cylindrical reliquary a foot high, with an oval crystal, containing a large bone of St. Praxed, sister of St. Potentiana.

#### SIXTH LITTER.

The skull of St. Aurelia on a cushion of carmine velvet adorned with silver spangles.

Two skulls of Cologne virgins on silver plates.

A reliquary case,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  palms by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , part gilt, with thirty-eight

lozenge-shaped windows formed by the intersection of strips of metal work set with stones. The relics in it were as follows: a piece of Our Lady's veil, pieces of the robes of Our Lady and St. John, relics of Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene, Martha, Photina, Catherine, Barbara, Cæcilia, Euphemia, Marina, Apollonia, Margaret, Dorothy, Clemency, Prisca, Josippa, Barbara, Cordula, Sponsa, Benigna, Gertrude, Milia, Cæsara, Corona, Eulalia, Hedwig (Duchess of Poland), Hippolyta, Odilla, Tenella, Anastasia, Agnes (one of the eleven thousand), Paulina, Justina, Empress Kunegund, Elizabeth of Hungary, Ludmilla, grandmother of St. Wenceslaus. Authenticated by Oracio Malaspina, March 24, 1579.

#### SEVENTH LITTER.

Two similar wooden relic cases, gilded, and decorated with velvet. One contained relics of various sizes, the names having become illegible with age. The other held fifty-four relics of the Cologne virgins.

A silver Madonna and child, over 2 palms high, standing on a round flat silver base, containing six oval windows by which could be viewed relics of St. Stanislaus, bishop and martyr, St. John the Almsgiver, St. Eustace, St. Palmatus, St. Giles and St. Wolfgang of Ratisbonne.

A silver-gilt leg finely adorned with stones, with a crystal under the knee through which a leg-bone of St. Roch could be seen. This, as the deeds of authentication show, was a gift of Empress Maria to Borgia.

#### EIGHTH LITTER.

A lovely cross of silver-gilt, over 2 palms high, on a base a little less than a palm square. In the cross were eighteen windows, exhibiting the following relics—a cross of wood of the true cross, a piece of the tablecloth of the Last Supper, a piece of Our Lady's vest, and relics of John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James the Great, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Judas Thaddæus, Thomas, Matthew, Matthias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke. Through thirty-six crystal windows in the base appeared relics of Saints Lawrence, Stephen, Sebastian, Gregory, Cosmos, Damian, Christopher, Erasmus, King Wenceslaus, Vincent, Gregory the Great, Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory the bishop, Nicolas, Benedict, Dominic, Bernard, Euphemia, Agnes, Barbara, Apollonia, Cordula, Catherine,

Lucy, Christina, Dorothy, Mary Magdalene, Elizabeth of Hungary, Mary Salome, Photina, Anne, Afra, Elvira, Mary of Egypt, and the Empress Helena.

Malaspina certified these on March 29, 1581, and Archbishop Miguel de Castro declared that they might have had the "Recebimento" for the sake of that wonderful cross alone.

A silver-gilt arm reliquary containing relics of St. Mary Magdalene, and in the hand an alabaster vessel containing some of the ointment she poured on our Lord's head.

A silver arm, part-gilt, with the hand holding a general's staff. Through three crystal windows could be seen relics of St. Gereon, "Captain of the company of St. Maurice," *i.e.* of the Theban legion.

#### NINTH LITTER.

Another gilt metal bust reliquary, with a skull of a Cologne virgin.

Two skulls with no names.

A silver reliquary a foot high, with a crystal through which could be viewed a relic of St. Justina.

#### TENTH LITTER.

Another silver-gilt bust reliquary, with the head of St. Brigit from Neustadt. The Emperor Rudolph gave this from his chapel royal, where it was kept under triple lock. Two skulls on silver plates, being those of St. Vedast and a Cologne virgin.

Another reliquary like that on the sixth litter, 2 palms by 1½, containing the following 34 relics—a piece of the true cross, a piece of the Sudarium, a piece of the tablecloth of the Last Supper, and relics of Saints Andrew, Vincent, Longinus, Blasius, Adalbert, the Dominican Peter, Theodore, Martin, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Felix and Valerius, Archbishops of Trier, the Duke Florentius, Wigbert the priest, Philip the apostle, Bartholomew, Matthias, Stephen, Lawrence, Maurice, Pope Sixtus, Valentine, the martyr Clement of the company of St. Ursula, Julian, Rufinus, Pope Gregory, Nicolas, Marius, Archbishop of Trier, Medard, Crysanthus of Basle, Simeon the hermit and Nicodemus.

#### ELEVENTH LITTER.

A silver bust painted in colours to represent a venerable bishop, in a rich mitre adorned with pearls, rubies and dia-

monds, worth thousands of ducats. This is St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, so called on account of the miracles worked by him, and recorded by St. Gregory Nyssen and other writers. Certain parts of this head still show skin adhering to the skull.

Two skulls on silver plates, being those of the martyr Clement of the company of St. Ursula, and a Cologne virgin.

A silver cross 3 palms high, with, on one side, the figure of Our Lady, and on the other the crucifix. It contained a piece of the true cross.

#### TWELFTH LITTER.

A silver-gilt octagonal "sepulchre," 2 palms across, and raised on four round feet. It contained twelve round windows. On the top were two solid kneeling angels supporting between them a reliquary. The figures were 2 palms high, and the reliquary exhibited through crystal windows crosses of wood of the true cross mounted in jewelled settings. The twelve windows of the sepulchre exhibited relics of the Holy Innocents, and Saints Colomanus, Florian, Oswald, Eleutherius, Giles, Acacius the companion of St. Victor, relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, of the Duke Candidus, and of Saints Procopius and Alban.

In addition to the litters, there was a reliquary carried under a pall borne by Royal Chaplains over the Bishop "of Hibernia," as bearer of the reliquary. This is described as follows:

An oval silver reliquary which, with its foot, stood 2 palms high, ornamented with garlands in relief, and set with stones. The big crystal window supported in the hands of angels, gave a view of a holy thorn from the Crown of Thorns. Immediately above this window was another shewing a piece of wood of the True Cross. And round these, in a ring of small windows, were relics of Saints Andrew, Bartholomew, Stephen, Vincent, Nicholas, James the apostle, Barnabas, Lawrence, Blasius and Mary Magdalene. The thorn was a gift to Borgia from Wratislas de Pernestan, who got it from the collegiate church of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Old Boleslavia, where it had been placed by the Emperor Charles IV.

So ends de Campos' list. All these relics were given by Borgia with the exception of the piece of the true cross on the fourth litter. This came from Aquaviva, who had sent it from Rome not long before. And as it had not yet been publicly ex-

posed for veneration, he ordered that it should be included in the "Recebimento." In addition to the relics, Father Antonio delivered to the Preposito, Fonseca, the papal grant of Jubilee, a beautiful picture of the *Sudarium*, and a silver cross for use in processions.

The preface of the *Relaçam* is dated June 3, 1588. We could hardly ask for evidence more immediate or painstaking. There is an *imprimatur* signed by three members of the Council of the Inquisition, of whom the second is a Father-theologian of the Casa de São Roque, Jorge Serrão.

The notes which de Campos appends to his lists reveal the fact that he had knowledge of our deeds of authentication. But he does not say anything that might indicate that he knew any other such deeds, which are not now in the tin box; nor is there anything to show that he had documents to go upon other than those which are still available, with the possible exception of the fact that four of the relics in his list are now undocumented. These are the arm-bone of St. Matthias on Litter III., the bone of St. Praxed on Litter V., the relics of St. Mary Magdalene on Litter VIII., and those of St. Justina on Litter IX.

A glance at de Campos' notes on these shews that nothing more can be inferred than that these relics were in some way scheduled. This may have been merely by the inclusion of little *schedulæ*, or written labels, in the windows of the reliquaries. It is probable that de Campos would have added something to qualify the bare name of St. Justina, had he been in a position to do so. The qualification in the case of St. Praxed shows that he thought her to be the Roman St. Praxed, but it is quite likely that he is wrong. If these four relics, therefore, had nothing but labels, they may not have been acquired during Borgia's stay at the Imperial court. Each enjoys a separate reliquary. They may have been in Borgia's possession before he left Spain, and may never have had any such certificates as he produced for the relics which he brought back to Spain from Austria and Germany.

There seems to be inaccuracy in de Campos' list for the twelfth litter, which contains Saints Alban and Giles (*Ægi-*



dus), whereas the corresponding deed substitutes Brendan and Emericus. De Campos' lists were used by the Bollandists in forming their notice for January 25, and again by J. T. Salazar in his *Martyrologium Hispanum*, for the same day. These, however, exhibit some differences, which call for attention because of the possibility that these writers had other knowledge to supplement what they had from de Campos. But on examination, the differences are not found to support such a hypothesis. In the first place, they do not shew knowledge of the text of our deeds. For example, de Campos ends his list for the tenth litter with Simeon the hermit and Nicodemus. Now our deed No. 5 has simply Simeon, without qualification. The title given is not such as de Campos would have been likely to supply without cause. It may have been on the *schedula* of the relic. Both the Bollandists and Salazar repeat it. On the other hand, the deed continues with Nicomedus [*sic*] the secret disciple of Christ. Salazar gives Nicomedus the Decurion, and the Bollandists, Nicodemus the secret disciple.<sup>1</sup>

In the list for the eighth litter, de Campos gives Gregorius M. The Bollandists call him "martyr," and Salazar "magnus," and it is the latter that is right, by our deed.

Again, where de Campos gives Colonianus, the name so stands in the deed, although no such saint is otherwise known. When the Bollandists emended to Colomannus, a saint of whom there was vigorous cultus at Melk, they must just have been drawing on their general hagiological knowledge. In short, neither they nor Salazar really supplement de Campos. Manoel da Veiga's manuscript list, on the other hand, is of independent authority.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Decurion" is purely a guess after mis-copying the name as Nicomedus. Salazar supposes it to be a saint of the Theban legion. At the end of the list for the twelfth litter, Salazar gives Pope Clement the martyr. This is not in de Campos or the corresponding deed. But it is probably nothing more than a repetition from the Clement martyr, at the end of the list for the eleventh litter. The Clement there meant is the martyr in the company of St. Ursula.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 28, 29 above. Farinha, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Tom. III., p. 186, mentions a manuscript, *Memorial da Casa de S. Roque*, as being at the Casa. This description fits the MS. book No. 207 of the Bibliotheca Nacional. The inventory giving the descriptions and values of the reliquaries forms a section of the whole book. The author, da Veiga, a

It is the result of a very thorough knowledge of the material, gained in the course of visitation. In it the Borgia collection is at once recognisable. But when the list is compared with that of de Campos, two changes appear. There has been first a rearrangement of small relics, and a mingling of other relics with those of the Borgia collection. A silver *taboa*, of which the description tallies with that of the oblong latticed cases in de Campos' list, shows some of the small relics from the big reliquary on the eighth litter mixed with others from the *taboa* on the tenth litter.

The other change is depreciation in value of some of the reliquaries.<sup>1</sup> In perhaps a majority of cases, the description of the reliquary by da Veiga is the same, roughly, as that of de Campos. For instance, we may suppose that it is the same silver bust that figured in the "Recebimento," when we read da Veiga's entry—*Item. Hum miyo corpo de prata que ha a cabeça de S. Chris—sancto [sic] bispo de Basilea. Custou 32 esc. 600—*.<sup>2</sup> But, on the other hand, we miss the gorgeous reliquary with jewelled mitre, that contained the skull of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. It now appears simply as in one of four silver *miyos corpos* of moderate value belonging to the Capella dos Santos Martires.<sup>3</sup> His entry runs, "The silver bust in which is the skull of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. It is a new one, for the head of the saint came encased in a small silver head, in which

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Jesuit of São Roque, may have been employed under the Provisor on a visitation, or he may simply have copied a visitation inventory, to supply a section of his book on São Roque.

<sup>1</sup> This is the more surprising because the *Annuae Litterae* show that there should have been steady enrichment of the housing of the relics. Thus 1597, p. 479, tells that there have been "ad reliquiarum ornatum trecenti aurei nobilis unius testamento relictī." And 1601, p. 161, notes "arcula asservandis Martyrum reliquiis" among gifts.

<sup>2</sup> Item. A silver bust containing the head of St. Chrys—holy Bishop of Basle. It cost 32 esc. 600 reis.

<sup>3</sup> The making of these busts is recorded in the *Annuae Litterae* for 1592, p. 128, in the words:

In domo Olisiponensi simulacra tria ex argento a capite ad cingulum, quorum uno caput Beati Gregorii Thaumaturgi, aliis bina episcoporum capita religiosius asservantur (see below, p. 48).

The disappearance of the jewelled reliquary must therefore have taken place within a year or so of its arrival.

it still is now, enclosed inside the bust, which was made at a cost of 48 escudos."<sup>1</sup> But the outer visible reliquary in which the head was carried in the "Recebimento" procession was of quite a different order of values. It may well be that inside the enamelled and jewelled bust, the skull lay encased in the *cabeça de prata pequina*. But de Campos describes a silver bust with the face enamelled to represent a venerable bishop, with, on his head, a very rich mitre all covered with pearls, rubies and diamonds, worth many thousand ducats,<sup>2</sup> and the like of that does not appear anywhere in da Veiga's list. As his entry shows, he did not know that it had ever existed.

A slightly later description of the state of the relics is apparently given in a *Relação geral das festas . . . na canonisação dos gloriosos Santo Ignacio Loyola . . . e Santo Francisco Xavier*, published for the occasion of the canonisation of the two Jesuit saints in 1662, from the press of Pedro Crasbek in Lisbon.<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to see this, but it is cited by the author of the "Descobrimento." This writer is blinded, by his enthusiasm over the new-found treasure-trove, to the fact that it is really very much less magnificent than the corresponding sets of reliquaries described in the documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But it is only necessary to compare his list, or the reliquaries as they are to be seen in the church of São Roque to-day, with the earlier lists, to see that great further depreciation must have taken place between da Veiga's time and the days of the expulsion. The only reliquary of any worth or beauty mentioned in the "Descobrimento" list is an image in silver gilt of the Madonna and child. This may well be the reliquary on the seventh litter, which de Campos

<sup>1</sup> On f. 16, O miyo corpo de prata em que esta a cabeça de Sam Gregorio Taumaturgo, se faz de novo porque a cabeça do sancto viera sendo engastada nella cabeça de prata pequina, em que ainda agora esta, engastada dentro no miyo corpo, faz de custo, 48 esc. 00.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, f. 20a. No. XI andor eram os sequintes reliquarios. Levava meo corpo de prata con rosto veneravel de Bispo encarnado e hua riquissima mitra na cabeça, cuberta toda de perolas, rubis e diamantes, que valiam muitos mil cruzados.

<sup>3</sup> The relics are described in the account of a general *exposição* in the chancel of São Roque which formed part of the solemnities of the occasion.

describes as silver-faced. For the rest we have to do with coffers of gilded wood, and the like. The skull of St. Crysanthus which we last saw in a silver bust worth 32.600, now appears lying simply on a sort of wooden cushion covered with red velvet. The relics of St. John the Almsgiver are in a circular box covered with red silk. A relic of St. Chrysostom is in a bronze-gilt arm reliquary. The head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus is in *um cofre dito de metal amarello*. One sees this yellow metal coffer, with a slightly domed lid, with little bells hanging at the corners, nowadays, behind the altar of *Onze Mil Virgens*. The small relics are in simple glass-topped show-cases, divided into compartments by wooden slats radiating from a centre. Some modern gilded and painted busts have been added, but appear to be of no value.

This history of the quiet disappearance of precious reliquaries helps us to appreciate how much the time of the donation was a high-water-mark time in the veneration of relics, exhibiting a very characteristic reaction in sentiment, on the part of Counter-reformation piety, against what was apprehended from the Reformation.

It is important to recognise the exceptional standard reached in the matter of Borgia's donation. We have seen that four relics seem to have had nothing but *schedulæ*, while all the rest were provided with documents of authentication, ranging from simple signed statements to elaborate legal documents, recording affidavits made in offices of notaries public. This is a state of things to which I have not been able to find a parallel elsewhere. The Tridentine canon did not explicitly demand any such standard of documentary attestation of relics. And it must rather be taken as proof of enthusiasm for relic cultus, which sought to magnify that cultus by hedging it with elaborate precautions.

In many great centres of relic cultus, no such documentation appears at all. We may take the case of the abbey of St. Denys at Paris, which had great wealth of relics, described in 1638 by Dom Germain Millet, in his *Tresor sacré de l'Abbaye Royale de S. Denis*. But we read of nothing but *schedulæ* in the re-

liquaries, or inscriptions engraved on the reliquaries themselves. That there were not documents like those of the Lisbon collection is clear from the fact that in two cases, to be mentioned later, Millet quotes or refers to a document connected with a relic, where they might seem to enhance the relic in question. He quotes *schedulæ*—e.g., *De ossibus Si Panteleonis* (p. 101), and tells us of a large silver-gilt *tableau*, mounted on jewelled and enamelled lions, and enclosing a number of small relics, of which he says: “Toutes ces choses sont marquées par billets” (p. 98). The statement made on p. 62 that three bodies of Cologne virgins were brought to St. Denys when Odo was abbot, in 1167, by the physician to King Louis VII., would appear to rest upon an entry in a chronicle.

But there are two documents mentioned. The first is a sealed deed of authentication, of which the text runs as follows:

Partem sincipitis beatissimi Hilarii olim Pictaviensis episcopi, ejus sacrum corpus ex hac nostra civitate in vestrum monasterium translatum, vetustissimorum patrum vidit ætas, et nos historica fide profitemur, in ecclesia nostra Pictaviensi, honorifice ut decet collocandum, per vos ad requisitionem nostram, nobis impertitam et donatam agnoscimus ac præsentium tenore certificamus. In ejus rei, etc. (p. 56.)

It will be seen that we have here not a deed in support of public veneration of a relic at St. Denys, but a quittance from the Chapter of Poitiers for relics handed over to them by the monks of St. Denys. It is dated 1602. The other, not cited in full, seems to have been a papal letter of Innocent III., in 1215, accompanying his gift to the abbey of St. Denys of the body of St. Dionysius of Corinth, which Cardinal Peter of Capua had brought back from the East. The letter conveyed a grant of forty days' indulgence in connection with the body of the saint (p. 69). It seems clear that nothing on a par with the collection in the tin box existed at St. Denys.

Trier is another quite notable centre of relic-cultus. A very great deal has been published about the relics, as may be seen from the *Geschichte der Trierer Kirchen* of the Jesuit S. Beissel, 1887. We get plentiful inventories of relics, and quotations of

*schedulæ*, with even historical notices of the *provenance* of particular relics, but nothing like an actual deed of authentication.<sup>1</sup>

E. A. Stüchelberg of Zürich made a study of the cultus of relics in Switzerland,<sup>2</sup> and notes authentication of relics by affixing the bishop's seal to the *schedula*. He also cites thirteenth and fourteenth century inventories which form a sort of document of authentication, by reason of such headings as *Haec sunt reliquiae quæ continentur . . . venerandæ et veræ*, etc.<sup>3</sup> But again there is no parallel to the Lisbon deeds.<sup>4</sup>

Only once has the text of a deed of authentication of relics appeared in *Analecta Bollandiana*.<sup>5</sup> And it is comparatively

<sup>1</sup> The seventeenth-century writer, Christopher Brower, S.J., on the churches and monasteries of Trier, gives lists of the relics in the cathedral and the Archbishop's chapel. See C. von Stramberg, *Metropolis ecclesiæ Treviricæ* (1855-6, a re-edition of Brower's work), Tom. I., p. 177 and following, and p. 184 and following. There is no hint of any documentation other than *schedulæ*. Upon an attempt to put the relics in the Archbishop's chapel into better order, Brower reports that there were not a few *quarum inscriptio periit, aut certe fugientibus characteribus illegibilis reddita est*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, Bd. XXIV., hft. 2 (1896).

See p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> One parish church has a late sixteenth-century inventory of sacred souvenirs brought by the Parochus from the Holy Land. This is the nearest thing, in this survey, to a deed of authentication, as conceived by the authors of the documents in the tin box.

<sup>4</sup> A number of other published lists and notices of local collections of relics that I have examined yield the same result. There is nowhere any sign of such a state of documentation as at São Roque. D. Farlatus, S.J., *Illyricum Sacrum*, Tom. V., pp. 279-80, affords an example of a dated *schedula* as a step towards the formal deed.

<sup>5</sup> Tom. V., pp. 162-4. This was a document issued in 1885, after investigation by a diocesan commission, of relics in a Belgian church belonging to saints not otherwise known. The diocesan therefore issued an *instrumentum recognitionis* to regularise the veneration of the relics.

Tom. XXVIII., pp. 281-298, discusses the relic list of Osnabrück Cathedral published in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, xxvii. (1906), pp. 465-472. Here *lamina plumbea* had been used in lieu of parchment *schedulæ*. No written authentication is noted as having been sent by the Bishop with his gift to the Duc de Longueville in 1648 of a relic from Osnabrück. The declaration is subjoined to the Osnabrück lists that these are the relics which the bishop proposes to the faithful for veneration, and to which he attaches indulgence at the days of Jubilee. (*Zeitschr. f. Kirch.*, l.c., pp. 471-2.)

rare for such a thing to be given in *Acta Sanctorum*. In view of the very full treatment of the cultus and relics there attempted, it is reasonable to suppose that the learned editors did not often know of documents of the type we are considering as being in existence. From the whole of *Acta Sanctorum*, no doubt, a very fair collection of deeds could be got together. And a ransacking of local church histories and histories of Orders would yield up a great many more. It may be guessed that a very large majority would prove to be sixteenth and seventeenth century. But certainly such standards were not confined to that period. Deeds of authentication are a natural product of scrupulous devotion in the cultus of relics. And that existed in many places and times outside the period of the Counter-reformation. A pair of deeds on the highest level may be seen in *Acta Sanctorum*, January 22, certifying donations of relics of St. Vincent of Saragossa. The date is 1215, and the deeds bear the seals of Simon de Montfort and Abbot William of Castras, by Albi. The year is that of the birth of St. Louis, and the gift is to his father, Louis, son of Philip Augustus.

It is quite probable that the personal agents and local centres that are responsible for the deeds in the tin box would prove, if the evidence could be collected, to have been outstanding contributors to this class of document. The Jesuit Society was such, and pursued a steady policy in this respect. The Roman Curia was the same with regard to the certification of relics exported from the catacombs. It will be noticed later, to take an instance on a different scale of importance, that something like a local tradition existed in the matter of issuing formal certificates with small relics of St. John the Almsgiver, taken from the body of the saint in the church of St. Martin at Pozsony. But making allowance for a wide distribution of deeds from a number of such sources, it still appears that the São Roque collection is outstanding.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRE-BORGIAN RELICS

THREE papers in the tin box refer to relics which came to São Roque before the Borgia donation. Deed No. 12 is a small pamphlet printed on parchment. It is a certification in the name of Doctor Antonio Pyres de Bulhan, Vicar-general of Lisbon, issued "in Curia quam vocant supplicationis" in respect of a number of small relics from Rome and Germany. It is of the nature of a faculty to expose these relics for public veneration, addressed by Doctor de Bulhan to Father Jorge Serrão, at that time acting as deputy for Fonseca both as Provincial and Preposito of São Roque.<sup>1</sup> It is dated September 22, 1573. This, we remember, was three days before the notice was given of the forthcoming demolition of the *Ermida* chapel, to be

<sup>1</sup> Jorge Serrão was born at Lisbon in 1528, and received into the Society at Coimbra in 1544. He graduated as Doctor in Theology at Rome in 1556, and attended the *Comitia* at Rome in that year as "Procurator Indiæ et Brasiliz." On his return he taught at Coimbra until 1563, when he was transferred to Evora, where he became Rector two years later. In 1569 he returned to Coimbra as Rector, and two years later became deputy for Fonseca as Provincial. From 1574 to 1582 he was Preposito of São Roque. In 1581, at the *Comitia* for the election of Claudio Aquaviva as General, Serrão was elected Assistant (for the Portuguese *Assistencia*) in his absence. But he was not able to accept election owing to failing health, for which reason, no doubt, he was replaced as Preposito. Franco tells a story which sets him in comparison with Sequeira, and characterises him as a man of courage and leadership (*Synopsis*, 1589). He was one of two Jesuits of his time to sit on the Council-general of the Inquisition for Portugal. Work of his was preserved in manuscript at Evora (C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 1869, s.n.). His last years were spent at São Roque, where he died on August 8, 1590, after preparing for death by a novena of visits to the relics in the church. His burial is entry No. 244 in the obituary register of the house. See Antonio Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, for a general sketch, and his *Synopsis Annalium* for dates. Also Balthazar Tellez, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu na Provincia de Portugal* (1645), Pt. II., p. 454 and following. See also the *Historia Societatis Jesu*, Pt. V. And Victor Ribeiro, *Obituarios da Igreja e Casa Professa de São Roque, da Companhia de Jesus, 1555-1704* (1916).



followed immediately by the opening of the new church.<sup>1</sup> We also remember that the structural decoration of some of the side chapels of the new church included monstrances for relics. It may be assumed therefore that the printing of the Vicar-general's certificate was for the purpose of the public opening of the new church. The copies to be placed in the hands of the public were no doubt on paper. And this copy will have been struck off on parchment for preservation. It is enclosed in a paper cover, on which is inscribed by hand:

"Authentication of the relics that Father Ignatius, Minister of our Society, brought from Rome and from Germany for distribution in the provinces under the crown of Portugal."<sup>2</sup>

The discretion as to the disposal of the relics lies with Serrão, and the majority are doubtless at São Roque.

The above description on the cover of the deed No. 12 shows that the relics were brought to Lisbon by Father Ignacio Martins, one of the more famous of the Portuguese Jesuits of his time.<sup>3</sup> He had been chosen, in 1572, by a provincial congregation at Evora, to attend the *Comitia* at Rome, as "Procurator Indiæ et Brasilæ." This was for the election of a new General, on the death of St. Francis Borgia. The Pope was urgent that they should not elect anyone from the Spanish peninsula, and was accordingly pleased with their choice of Everard Mercurian. The grant of relics from the catacombs for the Portuguese Jesuits is perhaps a gesture of recognition. Martins had been personally engaged in preliminary conversations with the Pontiff.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 13 above.

<sup>2</sup> Instrumento autentico das Reliquias quas Padre Ignacio, Minister da Nossa Companhia, trouxe de Roma e Alemanha, para se repartirem polas provincias da coroa de Portugal.

As contrasted with "Rector," which designated the holder of spiritual responsibility, the title "Minister" was used of members of the Society charged with authority for temporal affairs.

The "provinces" mentioned are Portugal, with the islands, and Brazil, Africa and India. Franco says that Serrão sent some of the relics to India and Brazil (*Synopsis, sub anno 1574*).

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Franco, *Synopsis, sub anno 1573*.

After the *Comitia*, he was sent by Mercurian, in company with the returning Fathers of the German province, to collect relics in Germany and Flanders to take back to Portugal. As Franco says, "Id enim difficile non erat, calamitosis temporibus, quibus Catholici hos thesauros in tuta conduxerant, ne hereticis essent ludibrio."<sup>1</sup> No doubt Martins had the help of his German and Flemish colleagues, and he must have carried the catacomb relics with him, for he returned by ship from Flanders to Spain, in the company of the Duke of Medina Coeli.<sup>2</sup> His arrival at Lisbon must have been just exactly timed, from the point of view of the opening of the new church. We should expect that where he received any kind of document with the relics, Martins would have brought it back to Lisbon for presentation to the diocesan authority, and then deposited it at São Roque. There is likely to have been a Roman certificate for the catacomb relics. Possibly this, and perhaps one or two other papers that Martins brought, were afterwards sent out of Lisbon with relics allotted to Portuguese houses in other sees. But even so, the fact that there is only one paper in the tin box that can have been of Martins' bringing, shows that he cannot have been as scrupulous about deeds of authentication as Borgia was. The one possible deed of his collecting in the tin box is No. 21. It is in manuscript, and runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, February 28.

In the *Synopsis*, l.c., he says: "Ignatius Martinius, cum Germanis patribus abiit in Germaniam, jussu novi Generalis, ut inde portaret in Lusitaniam sacras reliquias; cum per id infelix tempus dominaretur hæresis, nusquam apud eas gentes Sanctorum lipsana ab impietate erant tuta."

<sup>2</sup> Franco, *Synopsis*, says under 1574, "Ignatius Martinius initio hujus anni pervenerat ex itinere Germanico et Flandrico in Lusitaniam. Capsa reliquiarum, quas collegisset, mense Augusto mari devecta Ulyssiponem." Our deed shows that Franco is here guilty of a confusion. He no doubt had before him something showing the return of Martins to Lisbon early in 1574, and has assumed that this was the year when the relics arrived. He evidently has a separate source for the statement that the relics arrived at another time by sea. And he has chosen the wrong year for the latter event. We can assume that it was in August, 1573, that the relics were landed at Lisbon, perhaps off the Duke's vessel, while Martins went on into Spain. Thus there was a month for Serrão to arrange the matters with the Vicar-general.

## IHS

Notum sit omnibus, sacrum hoc caput, et reliqua ossa sacra huic capsulæ inclusa, sanctas esse reliquias de Undecim Millibus Virginum ac martyrum societatis S. Ursulæ reginæ, et nobis data esse permissu venerabilis Dominæ N. Abbatissæ, ex ipsa Camera Aurea; (est autem hic locus Coloniæ in templo S. Ursulæ, communiter non patens omnibus, in quo caput S. Ursulæ et S. Etherii sponsi ejus, et multæ aliæ praeclaræ reliquiæ hujus sanctæ societatis asservantur, et advenientibus peregrinis ostenduntur cum magna consolatione ipsorum). In cujus rei testimonium apposui nomen meum, et confratris mei, qui in receptione harum reliquiarum præsens fuit, cum sigillo nostri collegii.

*Coloniæ, anno 1568, 16 Januarii.*

LEONARDUS KESSELIUS,

*Indignus Rector collegii Coloniensis,  
et Professus Societatis Jesu,*

L. S.

JOANNES RETHIUS,

*Professus et Theologus Societatis Jesu.*

The first thing that meets the eye here is that the deed is not addressed to Martins, and bears a date four years earlier than his visit to Germany. The deed must have accompanied the skull it certifies into other hands on the way to Martins, if it was ever in his hands. It is, in fact, not a deed of donation at all, but a certificate of extraction from the *Camera Aurea*, and the counterpart of those certificates of extraction from the catacombs that were being issued in Rome. The exportation of relics of the Company of St. Ursula from Cologne, placed under ban by Boniface IX. at the end of the fourteenth century, was revived under special licence in 1540. Father Kessel, who signs this deed, obtained such a licence in 1551, through the good offices of the Nuncio Pighini.<sup>1</sup> Father Peter Faber, the first Rector of the Jesuit College at Cologne, had been granted

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum*, October 21, for a very full account of the regulation of the cultus of the relics of the Company of St. Ursula, in which, as may be seen, the Society had a particular interest.

special licences.<sup>1</sup> But Kessel's was made general, for the purpose of furnishing relics to the houses of the Society. A natural consequence of such conditions is that the Cologne relics exported at this time all carried their certificates of extraction, which would be handed with the relic, in any change of possession. It follows that it cannot be urged as probable that this deed was brought to Lisbon by Martins. It might equally have come thither with any of the numerous Ursuline skulls in São Roque. All that can be said is that it is the only deed in the tin box that could have come by his hands.

Mercurian's commission to Martins to make this quest may be taken as a personal gesture of the new General to the Portuguese Province.

The three Jesuit Fathers chiefly concerned with this first donation are worthy of notice. Martins,<sup>2</sup> until his journey to

<sup>1</sup> *L.c.* In 1544, Faber sent six Ursuline skulls to Portugal, as gifts to King João III. the Pious, a great friend of the Society, and for the princes. Further relics were sent to Portugal in 1548 to be taken by Jesuit missionaries sailing to the Indies.

<sup>2</sup> Ignacio Martins was a native of Gouvea, born about 1530. His original name was Vasco, but he received the name of the Founder instead, when he became, in 1547, the first Scholastic of the Society at Coimbra. In 1550 he commenced the Philosophy course, in the Residencia S. Felicis. In 1555, he, Fonseca and Serrão, were Magistri in the School of Philosophy at Coimbra. In 1560, he and Fonseca were moved to Evora. And there, in 1570, they graduated together as Doctors in Theology, in the presence of King Sebastião and Cardinal Henry. In the following year he was sent as Visitor to Angra in the Azores, where the work of the Society had been begun in 1570. Later, his brother, Manoel Gouvea, was Bishop of Angra. After his return to Portugal in 1574 he was again at Coimbra and Evora, and then at Lisbon. In 1577, his work of preaching at Lisbon was brought to a standstill, because he spoke against King Sebastião's crusade in Africa. He was, for this, sent back to Coimbra. But he returned to Lisbon after the King's death, and worked there for the remainder of his life. He was the preacher at the "Recebimento." He died at São Roque on February 28, 1598.

A de Andrade, *Varones Ilustres de la Compañia de Jesus*, Tom. V. (1666), represents him as a thaumaturge. There was some attempt to treat him, at the time of his death, as a saint (*op. cit.*, pp. 136-8). He enjoyed the special regard of the Viceroy, Cardinal Albert. And Borgia's wife, Doña Francesca d'Aragon, was devoted to him.

See Franco, *Synopsis*, and *Annus Gloriosus*; Balthazar Tellez, *Chronica*, Pt. II., pp. 215-251, Pt. I., p. 322 and following. Also, *sub nomine*, in C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, and N. Sotwell, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*.

Rome, was a lecturer in the university at Evora. The journey changed the tenour of his life. He visited Padua, and there kissed the tongue of St. Antony. From that time he gave himself to preaching and the religious instruction of the young. The special scene of his work was the south-west chapel of São Roque, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Assumpção, but known thenceforth as Nossa Senhora da Doutrina. He ended, at Coimbra, in 1598, a life of such effect as a teacher and preacher that, in the words of Balthazar Tellez, "all Portugal honoured him with the title of Mestre Ignacio."

Kessel,<sup>1</sup> in spite of complaints of contemporaries that he was "supine," plays a great part in the Jesuit history of his time. The situation with which he was face to face at Cologne was one that might well paralyse a man of any but the greatest vigour and initiative. His inaction may have had a measure of wisdom.

The power of attack which he could not supply in his own person, he provided by winning over the man whom he associates with himself in our deed, Johann von Reidt, or, as he signs himself, Rethius.<sup>2</sup> This man was the son of the Burgomaster of Cologne. After studying in Paris and Rome, he returned home in 1556, bringing to the cause of the Counter-reformation in Cologne the thing it most needed, a zeal for learning. For some time the Protestants had had the complete superiority in this regard. But in 1558 Rethius took up the direction of the school called the Krönenburse, and was most successful in restoring, by this means, the educational prestige of Catholicism.

<sup>1</sup> Leonard Kessel was born at Louvain in 1518, and entered the Society in 1543. He joined Faber at Cologne in 1544, and succeeded him as Rector. See J. E. Nieremberg, *Varones Ilustres de la Compañia de Jesus*, Tom. III. (1645), pp. 754-6. Also B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten aus Ländern deutscher Zunge*, Bd. I., *passim*, especially pp. 34-45. Portrait on p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Duhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 755-779, gives a very good character sketch of von Reidt. See also Sotwell, and Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, *sub nomine*. A notice of both Kessel and von Reidt is given by F. Sacchini, *Historia S.J.*, Pt. IV. (1652), pp. 45, 47.

A portrait of von Reidt is on p. 759 in Duhr, *op. cit.*

The work of Fathers Kessel and von Reidt was brought to a tragic end in 1574, when they, and a Father Nicholas Faber, were murdered in the garden of their house by a madman called Gerard Pesch, of Kempen.<sup>1</sup>

The Fathers had very close connections with the nunnery of St. Ursula, which possessed the main store of Ursuline relics. The nuns lent them their church for preaching.<sup>2</sup> It was actually in the *Camera Aurea* of our deed, known popularly as Die Goldene-Kammer, or Reliquienstätte, surrounded from floor to roof with the reliquaries that contained the Treasure of Cologne,<sup>3</sup> that von Reidt made his profession in the Society.<sup>4</sup> At this stage the Jesuits exhibit none of that critical attitude towards the St. Ursula cultus afterwards taken up by the Bollandists. They saw in the abundance of the Cologne relics simply an asset for the revival of piety.<sup>5</sup>

After the relics brought by Martins, the next accession seems to have been a "theca Reliquiarum pretiosa" left to the house by Queen Catherine at her death in 1578.<sup>6</sup> This donation is entirely unrepresented in the tin box.

There is, however, a deed that dates from this year.

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the tragedy is given in the *Historia S.J.*, Pt. IV., p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> See Duhr, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

<sup>3</sup> A plate showing the interior of the *Camera Aurea* may be seen in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. Relics.

<sup>4</sup> See Duhr, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

<sup>5</sup> The relics were bones exhumed from an ancient cemetery adjoining the church of St. Cunibert, at Cologne. The ground belonged to the canons of St. Cunibert. But the nuns of St. Ursula's succeeded, by litigation, in obtaining the relics. Gerlach, abbat of Deutz, began, and the visionary Elizabeth of Schönau continued, the weaving of a tissue of Ursuline legend that made the strongest appeal to the romantic piety of the time.

<sup>6</sup> Franco, *Synopsis*, sub anno.

Queen Catherine was a great friend to the Society. Polanco speaks of her *muy special amor a la compañía* (*Mon. Hist. S.J. Polanci Compl. I.*, p. 114). Franco calls her "Nostræ Societatis Mater Suavissima." She was sister of Charles V., and grandmother of Dom Sebastião, and a lady of very marked strength of character and ability. She was Queen-regent for her grandson, 1557-1562, and was his guardian under the regency of the Cardinal Prince Henry, 1562-1568. See Manoel dos Santos, *Historia Sebastica* (1735), for her widowhood.

It is No. 35, written in Italian, on paper, and runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

I, Fra Paolo Rondini, Carmelite of Florence, unworthy Doctor of Sacred Theology, and now Preacher in the church of S. Pietro at Norcia, certify by these presents that I, this 30th day of November, 1578, under commission from the Reverend Master Giovanni Baptista Cafardo of Siena, Vicar-general of the Order of Mount Carmel, have given, from the sacristy of Santa Maria Transpontina, a piece of bone taken from the head-relic of the glorious Father St. Basil, to the very Reverend Father Pietro Fonseca, immediate assistant to his illustrious General of the Jesuits.

In this matter, I, holding authority from His Holiness Pope Gregory, do solemnly declare that this donation took place in the presence of many Fathers from among the Religious of the said convent of Traspontina. Wherefore I, the aforesaid Frate Paolo, have subscribed with my own hand, this last day of the month, in the year aforesaid.

FR. PAULUS RONDINGUS, etc.

Here we have a pure deed of donation, and of donation to Fonseca personally, without any suggestion that the relic was ultimately to come to São Roque. That it did come is shown by the presence of the deed in the tin box. And the relic can be recognized in the "Descobrimento" inventory, as being in the small wooden "coffre" numbered as reliquary No. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Fassi fede per me, Fra Paulo Rondini, Carmelitano Fiorentino, indignamente *Doctor S. Theologiæ*; nel presente, Predicatore nella chiesa di S. Pietro de Norcia; io nell'oggi, questo dì 30 di Novembre, 1578, per commissione del Reverendo Maestro Giovanni Baptista Cafardo da Siena, Generale Vicario della Religione Carmelitana, ho dato dalla sacrestia di Santa Maria Transpontina, un pezzo di osso della reliquia di testa del glorioso padre santo Basilio, all'molto Reverendo padre Pietro Fonseca, assistente appresso all'illustrissimo Generale suo di Jesuiti.

In questo, perchè teneva autorità dalla santità di N.S.PP. Gregorio, protesto nel vero fatto si e fatto alla *præsentia* di molti padri di religiosi del detto convento di Traspontina, per quello che io, il sopradetto Frate Paulo, scrissi di mia propria mano, oggi ultimo di mese, nel anno sopradetto.

FR. PAULUS RONDINGUS,

*Qui ut supra, manu propria.*

Fonseca<sup>1</sup> was resident in Rome from 1573 to 1580 as Assistant-general for the Portuguese *Assistencia*. When the General, Everard Mercurian, died in 1580, Fonseca was replaced in the *Assistencia*, and returned to Lisbon to be Preposito of São Roque. No doubt he carried with him this relic, and gave it to the house. But he cannot have known, in 1578, that he was soon to be Preposito of São Roque. Nor is there anything in the deed to suggest that he was collecting relics for that church. He does not seem to have brought to São Roque any but this one relic. Nor does our deed suggest that he had been a suitor for this. It suggests much more that he is being the honoured recipient of a gift by which the Carmelite Order, or its General, seeks to express appreciation or indebtedness. The circumstances are honorific, and ceremonious. Instead of the attendance of necessary witnesses only, we have what amounts to a public function of the convent, making the counter-signature of individual witnesses superfluous. The friar who carries out the donation is armed with a commission from his General, and a Papal authority. He is, moreover, of some personal standing

<sup>1</sup> Pedro da Fonseca was born at Cortiza in 1528, and entered the Society at the age of twenty. In his early career, he is constantly associated with Ignacio Martins. With him he began to teach Aristotle at Coimbra in 1555, and with him graduated as Doctor in Theology at Evora in 1570. But his intellectual powers were greater than those of Martins, and he came to be regarded as one of the most learned men of his day, being dubbed, at Rome, "the Portuguese Aristotle." He was a prolific writer, especially on philosophy. Also, where Martins turned to preaching and pastoral teaching, Fonseca was marked out for authority. He seems to have become Rector at Coimbra in 1567. Two years later he was transferred to Evora as Rector, and was there until he went to Rome. There he gained the high esteem of Gregory XIII. His return to Lisbon coincided with the usurpation of the Portuguese throne by Philip II. of Spain. Franco gives Fonseca the credit for the fact that the Lisbon Jesuits immediately enjoyed as high a degree of favour from Philip as they had had under the native dynasty. He held the office of Preposito until 1589. He was then for four years Visitor of the Province. He was also invested by Philip with the powers of "Censor morum." In 1593 he ceased to hold office, and busied himself with the foundation of St. Patric's Seminary at Lisbon. 1598 saw his foundation of a rescue home. And the next year he died at São Roque.

See Franco, *op. cit.*, Tellez, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., pp. 376-7, Sotwell, *op. cit.*, Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, and the *Historia S.J.*, *passim*. A biography was published in *Der Katholik* for 1864 (Strassburg).



in the Order. After being prior of the Carmelites in his native city of Florence at a very early age, he had become a leading preacher of his time. He had been Provincial of Tuscany. He died just seven years from the date of our deed, leaving a group of distinguished Florentine Carmelites who had been his pupils. Peter Lucius, in his *Carmelitana Bibliotheca*, printed in Florence in 1593, had heard a great deal from these men to the credit of Rondini, and had read some of Rondini's manuscript sermons, and admired them.

The scene of the donation also supports the suggested view of its character. The convent of the Traspontina with its church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the via Borgo Nuovo, had been built for the Order by Pope Pius V. less than ten years previously, to be its Roman headquarters. It was not therefore the natural kind of place for one seeking relics to turn to. Relics of the famous saints of the East were the object of rather a special and typical interest of this time, and such a relic as a piece of the skull of St. Basil would lend prestige to a new church.<sup>1</sup> Caffardo must therefore be judged to have been moved by a very strong sense of gratitude or friendship towards Fonseca to have ordered the making of this donation. We know very well what was Caffardo's leading preoccupation at this time.<sup>2</sup> He had been nominated by Gregory XIII. on

<sup>1</sup> Ottavio Panciroli, *I Tesori nascosti nell'alma citta di Roma* (1600), p. 848, says that while the body of the saint is at Cæsarea in Cappadocia a number of relics are at Rome, of which he places first "il capo, in S. Maria Traspontina." In his account of the dedication of the church in 1587 (*op. cit.*, pp. 584-5), he mentions the relics brought from the old church. This is not one, and was therefore newly acquired. After Rome, Bruges was celebrated for relics of St. Basil. But in this case the circumstances point to their having come by the hands of crusading Counts of Flanders as early, perhaps, as the eleventh century. For these and their documentation, see *Acta Sanctorum*, June 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, October 15, for St. Theresa, has a very full and laboured discussion of the Carmelite reform controversy, written with an eye to warding off the insinuation that the Jesuits had not proved themselves good friends to St. Theresa. The Bollandists had specially to answer the recent pastoral of the Archbishop of Burgos in 1769, in which he had roundly asserted the hostility of the Society to the Theresan reform. Their defence leaves it none the less clear that a great deal of intrigue and wire-pulling went on, in which St. Theresa felt that the other side had the advantage over her friends, and particularly in their oper-

October 9 of this year to succeed Rosso (Rubeus), who died on October 5, as Vicar-general. He took up the generalship at a most critical stage of the "civil war" in the Order over the Theresan Reform. As Provincial of Tuscany he had been present at the famous chapter-general of Placentia in 1575, which condemned the reform. And his subsequent history shows him to have been utterly opposed to the secession of the Discalced from the parent Order.<sup>1</sup> This comes out particularly at the time of the chapter-general at the Traspontina in 1580, at which he was actually elected General. The circumstances were such as to force the Vatican to determine its attitude to the Carmelite controversy. The centre of interest therefore moved to the Consistory. This was the last phase. The first occupied the period 1576-8, when the Spanish court was the central point of the Carmelite battlefield. Our deed falls in the following and middle period. A main fact of the last phase is that when it became known that Cardinal Montalto (Sixtus V.) was coming over onto the side of the Discalced, Caffardo, as a last hope, moved Boncampagni, the Cardinal-protector, to propose the election of the Spanish Provincial of the Order by the reformed and mitigated congregations turnabout. This shows a desperate desire to prevent, by any conceivable means, the severance of the Discalced into a separate province. We can be sure, then, that in the middle phase, Caffardo was using every means to get the view accepted in high places that the Carmelite reform must not be allowed to escape from under the control of the Order as constituted. Fonseca is such a person as could have rendered him great service in such a cause. The part played by Jesuits in this controversy has been a matter of

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ations in Italy; and further that individual Jesuits interested themselves very actively in the Carmelite controversy.

<sup>1</sup> For Caffardo's history, see Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* (1732), I., 763-6. He had become Provincial of Tuscany in 1574, and Procurator-general in 1576. Rondini was evidently very closely associated with him, as de Villiers mentions that Francesco Turco eulogised him in his *Oratio habita in electione J-B. Caffardi*. See *op. cit.*, II., 537.

It is to be noted that at the time of our deed, Caffardo had not been canonically elected Vicar-general, though exercising the office.

acrimonious debate. They had close connections with the Reform, and exercised a great influence in Spain. And it seems beyond question that their influence was exerted to a considerable extent in the interests of the Mitigated.

Had that of Fonseca been so exerted ?

Towards an answer, our deed No. 35 gives us the fact that in 1578 Caffardo, and the Roman convent of Traspontina, were extremely beholden to him.

## CHAPTER V

### THE MALASPINA DEEDS

THERE is no sign of any further enrichment of the treasure of São Roque during the provostship of Fonseca until the great donation of 1588. This donation is illustrated by a large number of deeds. But six among them stand out as forming a group by themselves. These are the deeds which Ribeiro numbered 2, 5, 7, 13, 14 and 16. They are written on folded parchment in a fine clear hand, with capital letters in gold. In each case the seal is enclosed in a round flat box of turned brass, and attached to the deed by gold cords. Signature and seal, in all six deeds, are those of Marquis Horatio Malaspina, Nuncio at the Imperial court, and all bear dates early in 1581 (March and April). Now this was the year in which the Empress-mother, with Don Juan de Borgia in attendance, left the imperial court to return to Spain. The scrutiny of his collection of relics, and their formal certification by the papal Nuncio, are clearly in preparation for the removal of the collection to Spain. The deeds are all conceived on substantially the same principle. Each covers a considerable number of relics. Malaspina certifies that he has examined the existing evidence for their authenticity, and found it satisfactory. But as the testimony was largely that of obscure persons whose names would not carry weight abroad, he has, at the request of Don Juan de Borgia, drawn up these comprehensive certificates, over his own hand and seal. It will be sufficient to give the text of one of them, No 5, in full, while giving a brief description of the others.



HORATIUS Marchio MALASPINA, Prothonotarius, et Sanctissimi Domini nostri Domini *Gregorii*,<sup>1</sup> Divina providentia

<sup>1</sup> The words, letters and brackets in italics are, in the original, written in gold. The same style is used in the entire group of Malaspina deeds.

*Papæ XIII.*, ac *Sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ* ad invictissimum Principem et Dominum, Dominum *Rudolphum* secundum Romanorum, Hungariæ ac Bohemiæ Regem, in *Imperatorem* electum, Nuncius cum potestate Legati de latere, Universis et singulis *Christifidelibus* præsentēs literas visuris, lecturis pariter et auditoris, salutem et omne bonum. Cum nobis hisce diebus Illustrissimus ac Generosissimus Dominus Don Joannes a Borgia, *Catholicæ Maiestati* a consiliis, ejusdemque ad *Cæsaream* prædicti Invictissimi *Rudolphi* secundi Romanorum Imperatoris Orator, aliquas literas super datis sibi nonnullis Sanctorum venerandis *Reliquiis* fidem facientes in originali suo videndas, legendas atque cognoscendas exhiberet: *Reliquiarum* autem in præfatis literis, sigillis, et subscriptionibus munitis contentarum hæc sunt nomina—

*De ligno Crucis* in quo salus mundi pependit. *De Syndone* et *Mappa Domini Jesu*. Sanctorum *Apostolorum* *Andrææ*, *Philippi*, *Bartholomæi*, *Matthiæ*. Sanctorum *Martyrum* *Stephani* prothomartyris, *Xisti*, *Laurentii*, *Vincentii*, *Mauritii*, *Longini*, *Blasii*, *Valentini*, *Adalberti*, *Clementis* episcopi et martyris, *Venceslai*, *Clementis*, *Petri* ordinis *Prædicatorum*, *Juliani*, *Hippoliti*, *Theodori*, *Ruffini*, Sanctorum *Pontificum* atque *Confessorum*, *Gregorii magni*, *Martini*, *Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, *Nicolai*, *Fælicis*, et *Marii*, Archiepiscoporum *Treverensium*,<sup>1</sup> *Valerii*, *Medardi*, *Caroli magni Imperatoris*, *Florentii* ducis, *Crisanti*, *Vigberti*, *Simeonis*, atque *Magistri Nicomedi*, [sic] occulti olim propter metum *Judeorum Christi* discipuli, nunc vero in conspectu *Angelorum* psallentis Domino. Dumque idem Dominus Don Joannes a Borgia suprascriptus prædictas *Reliquias* in tabula argentea et ingeniose et sumptuose dispositas, non tamen sine testimonio authentico et legali in Hispanias se transmittere velle significaret, idque sine aliqua difficultate fieri non posse, eo quod a fide dignis, omnique acceptatione majoribus personis præfatæ literæ emanaverint, in Hispaniis tamen sint vel ex ipso nomine prorsus ignotæ, indeque saltem visionis, lectionis et cognitionis hujusmodi nostræ authenticum testimonium sibi a nobis elargiri obnixe peteret,

<sup>1</sup> There seems considerable uncertainty in the lists of bishops of Trier, as to whether the name of this saint is Marus or Marius. Christoph Brower calls him Marus (C. von Stramberg, *Metropolis Ecclesiæ Trevericæ*, Tom II., p. 184). He records the presence of relics of St. Felix of Trier in the Archbishop's chapel there, but not of St. Marus.

Nos, Horatius, Marchio et Nuncius, præfatis attendentes petitionem hanc Domini Joannis a Borgia esse piam et justam, quodque literæ sicut præmittitur nobis exhibitæ sint sigillis et subscriptionibus, modo debito et consueto munitæ, ac alias nostri etiam esse officii, devotionem *Christifidelium* et *Sanc-torum Dei* venerationem promovere,

Votis ejusdem Domini Don Joannis a Borgia officiose annuendum super literis (quod veritas est) eas sanas et integras, non vitiatas neque in aliqua sui parte suspectas (quippe a personis fide dignis et quorum testimonio tam in his, quam in aliis, plena fides adhiberi possit et debeat emanatas) nobis exhibitas fuisse, prædictasque *Reliquias* omnes et singulas in se (etsi diversis membranis et chartis) continuisse affirmandum et approbandum esse duximus:

prout præsentium tenore annuimus, promovemus, affirmamus et approbamus, hisce literis, manu nostra subscriptis et sigilli nostri appensione communis fidem ac robur autoritate qua fungimur, impertimur.

Quæ datæ sunt Pragæ, in parva parte ac ædibus nostræ solitæ residentiæ, die ultima mensis Martii, Anno salutiferi partus Virginis Matris, Millesimo Quingentesimo Octuagesimo primo.

HORATIUS MARCHIO MALASPINA, Nuntius Apostolicus.

Deed No. 2 is very similar in character, and dated the same day. Its peculiarity is the little descriptive phrases added to the mention of each relic. It certifies—

Pars aliqua ligni illius Crucis vivifici e quo, juxta Davidis sententiam, Dominus regnavit. Spina etiam ex illis quibus coronatum punctum totiesque perforatum fuit pretiosum caput Redemptoris gentium Christi Jesu.

There follow relics of the apostles Andrew, James, Bartholomew and Barnabas, and then of martyrs—

Stephani a lapideis Judæis lapidibus obruti, primique testis Catholicæ veritatis; Laurentii, qui et patriam suam Hispaniam, totumque mundum, flammis quibus ipse fuit adustus illuminavit;

and so likewise Vincent, Blaise, Nicolas, and Mary Magdalene.

Deed No. 7 runs very much on the same lines as No. 5, and is dated on the previous day, March 29. The relics are enumerated practically without qualification, and are—

De ligno vivicæ Crucis. De mappa mensæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi.<sup>1</sup> De Camisia intemeratæ Virginis Matris. St. John Baptist. Apostles and evangelists, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, Philip, James, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, Matthias, Barnabas, Mark, Thaddæus. Martyrs, Stephen, Lawrence, Vedast, Gregory, Sebastian, Cosmas, Damian, Christopher, Wenceslaus, Erasmus; Confessor bishops, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Benedict, Nicolas, Bernard, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dominic; Holy women, Euphemia, Margaret, Agnes, Barbara, Apollonia, Christina, Cordula, Lucy, Dorothy; Widows [sic] Anna, Mary Magdalene, Elizabeth, Mary Salome, Photina the Samaritan, Afra, Helena, Mary of Egypt, and Helena Augusta.

The other three follow similar lines. No 13 certifies:

A piece of the true cross. Relics of the Holy Innocents. Saints Colomanus,<sup>2</sup> Florian, Acacius, of the company of St. Victor, the Forty martyrs, St. Oswald, the Duke Candidus, Saints Eleutherius, Procopius, Brendan and Emericus.

No. 14 covers only six names, those of saints Wolfgang, Giles, Palmatus, Eustace, Stanislaus, and Henry the King.

No. 16 is more like Nos. 5 and 7. It certifies portions—

Ex Camisia ac velo Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et de vestibus ejusdem, et Divi Johannis Evangelistæ. Also small relics of the holy virgins Martha, Catherine, Cæcilia, Marina, Clemency, Prisca, Josippa, Sponsa, Benigna, Gertrude the duchess, Milia, Cæsara, Corona, Eulalia, Hedwig, Hippolyta, Odilla, Tenella, Anastasia, Paulina, Justina, Kunegund the empress, Elizabeth of Hungary, and Lutmilla, grandmother of King Wenceslaus.

A perusal of these deeds at once suggests the question, Why did Malaspina provide six documents and not one? On the

<sup>1</sup> T. J. Pessina, in *Mars Moravicus* (Prague, 1677), p. 425, tells that Charles IV. received the *Mappa cænæ Domini* as a gift and laid it up in the cathedral church of St. Vitus at Prague. J. Schmidl, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciæ Bohemiæ* (1747), Pt. I., p. 247, tells that the *Divinæ Matris Indusium*, quo se in sacris cimeliis nihil pretiosius habere scimus, was preserved at Olmütz, and that Bishop Wilhelm Prussinowski tore off portions and gave them to Father Maggio, S.J., for himself and the Lady Maria Manriquez.

<sup>2</sup> Colomanus cannot be identified. The Bollandists, in their list of the "Recebimento" relics, have emended it to Colomannus. *Acta Sanctorum*, January 25.

principle which he states, unless he were prepared to issue a separate certificate for each several relic, there is no reason why all should not be entered on one parchment. The enigma begins to be resolved if we set these lists of names alongside the lists of relics given in Chapter III., in the order of the litters carried in procession at the "Recebimento." Deed No. 2 is seen exactly to correspond with the contents of the reliquary which the Bishop of Hibernia carried at the end of the procession. Deed No. 5 gives us the contents of the big compartment-case on the tenth litter.<sup>1</sup> Deed No. 7 agrees with the contents of the silver-gilt cross-shaped reliquary on the eighth litter, except that it reads Vedast where the "Recebimento" list reads Vincent, and a superfluous Helena, where the "Recebimento" list reads Elvira.<sup>2</sup> The carelessness may this time have been on the part of Malaspina's clerk. Deed No. 13 shows slightly more discrepancy when compared with the contents of the silver-gilt "sepulchre" on the twelfth litter. The deed reads Brendan and Emericus, where the "Recebimento" list reads Alban and Egidius. Here the variants do not so clearly suggest a right and a wrong, but rather alternative guesses at something difficult to read. It is possible that both writers were attempting to copy names from little *schedulæ* in the compartments of the reliquary case.<sup>3</sup> But when we compare the contents of the Madonna and Child reliquary on litter VII. with deed No. 14, and find the entry Henry the King in the latter, as the one discrepancy, over against John the Almsgiver in the "Recebi-

<sup>1</sup> Only that it adds an extra Clement (without specifying) Wenceslaus, Hippolytus and Charlemagne. The disappearance of these in de Campos' list, as well as the fact that the order of names in his lists and Malaspina's are not the same, suggests that de Campos compiled his lists from the reliquaries, and not from the deeds. The disappearance of four names might be due to failure of care in copying, but may very likely result from the *schedulæ* being tiny slips of parchment, of which some had been displaced in travel.

<sup>2</sup> It also adds Gregory Thaumaturgus, while placing the other Gregorys, one under martyrs and the other under bishops.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that the name of St. Emeric, son of St. Stephen, King of Hungary, would be familiar to a clerk in the Nuntiature at Prague, but not to de Campos at Lisbon, it is the more likely to be right. Brendan is so surprising that it is hard to explain unless it is right. But see note below, p. 90.



mento " list, there seems no easy explanation except that some kind of change was made in the contents of the reliquary between the time of certification and 1588 (see below, p. 90).

The relics in deed No. 16 form the major portion of the contents of the large reliquary case on the sixth litter. Those that are missing are of women saints who appear also in the "Recebimento" list for the eighth litter. The alternative solutions that suggest themselves are (a) that there has been duplication of names in making out the latter list, or (b) that relics in the case on litter VIII. were subdivided to give material for the filling of empty compartments in the reliquary on litter VI.

Granting these quite straightforward explanations of the slight discrepancies, the question regarding the six deeds is answered. Each deed certifies the contents of a larger reliquary. Borgia may have had it in mind that he might give these big reliquaries to different churches.

We now have to consider Malaspina's assertion that these deeds replace deeds, from the hand of minor personages, which he had scrutinised and recognised to be satisfactory. It presents two possible difficulties. The first is that in spite of what he says about the insufficiency, for Borgia's purpose, of deeds drawn by persons unknown in Spain, a large part of his greater relics are left only provided with such, while Malaspina's deeds cover only the small relics in these big reliquaries. The second is that, as will appear later, one certainly, and several more, probably, of the relics covered by Malaspina's certificates are also covered by deeds which survive in the tin box; without there being any indication why these were chosen to be saved, if it really were the case that there were a great many more like them that were not saved. We ask, Why did not Borgia get Malaspina to cover *all* his locally certified relics, and why did he trouble to retain local certificates at all ?

These questions do not arise if there never were any but a few formally drawn authentications with the small relics, while the majority had nothing to support them but a *schedula*, and Borgia's personal assurance as to their derivation. Such a state of things would be in accord with the most common

practice. Malaspina's suggestion of six reliquary cases having been accompanied by something in the order of a hundred formal documents would, if it had to be taken seriously, prove the adoption by Borgia of standards, in such matters, to which we have no counterpart elsewhere. On the other hand, if most of these small relics had no formal certification at all, Malaspina has said, in his deeds, more than he had justification for saying.

In deciding which alternative to choose, we must not assume that one of them reflects seriously upon the honesty of Malaspina. We have to consider the policy with regard to relics which people in his position were following. They aimed at an irreproachable standard, but knew that the standards prevailing were very far from irreproachable. In the meantime they assumed that everything was beyond reproach, unless there were evident cause for suspicion. They gave irregularities the benefit of the doubt. And while they clearly aimed at eliminating abuses in relic-cultus, their first motive was to restore public confidence. They certainly did not wish, by emphasising doubts, to diminish the number of sacred objects by which the devotion of the faithful might be stirred.

If, therefore, we cannot seriously suppose that Malaspina would have refused to certify any of Borgia's relics for which he could not produce a formal certificate satisfying all the proper standards, we cannot regard it as a difficulty if we have to suppose that the facts behind his certificates were less completely in order than his phrases strictly imply. Again, Malaspina appears to be explaining and justifying an unusual form of certificate, which he has produced at Borgia's special request, in view of particular circumstances. The question he is facing is not, Are there doubts about any of these relics? but, Why this recent and wholesale certificate from the Nuncio at Prague? And if he has made up for casual scrutiny by exaggerating the terms of his approval, such things have been known.

My conclusion is that Malaspina has exaggerated, and that he had not a large number, still less a complete set, of formal certificates before him; and that so far from making a severe investigation, he took Borgia's word for the whole thing. On

the other hypothesis, one would resent these Malaspina deeds, as having been the cause of the loss of a host of much more interesting documents. But there is no call for such a sentiment if the documents never existed.

The subject of all this discussion, Oracio Malaspina,<sup>1</sup> was a member of an old noble family belonging to the mountain country on the borders of Liguria and Tuscany. Another and much more distinguished papal Nuncio of the time, Germanico Malaspina, was a kinsman of his, though how close does not appear. The Malaspinas had got their marquisate, it was said, from Justinian, so that people in the sixteenth century who styled themselves Marquis Malaspina need not be very close kin. Oracio seems only to have had an elder brother Camillo. He received his instructions as Nuncio at Prague in 1578, in succession to Count Bartolomeo Portia, of whom more must be said later, who died on August 12 of that year. Shortly after his signature of Borgia's deeds he was withdrawn from Prague to join Castelli at the French court, in an attempt to overcome the anti-Spanish sentiment there.<sup>2</sup> He proved a complete failure.<sup>3</sup>

Malaspina's deed No 2 covers, as has been said, the contents of the reliquary which, at the "Recebimento," was carried by the Bishop of Hibernia. This reliquary has rather taxed de Campos' powers of description. It was evidently a somewhat ornate piece of plate. There was an oval frame that stood upright on a foot, and round the circumference crystal stones were set, to the number of ten, in sockets formed of garlands in relief. Under each crystal was a small relic. The space inside

<sup>1</sup> For Malaspina as a Nuncio, see *Nuntiatur-berichte aus Deutschland*, Abt. III., Bd. II., Hansen, *passim*, and especially pp. 228-229 for his relations with Borgia. Also L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Gregor XIII. (1923), p. 393.

For the Malaspina family, and personal history, see J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopædia* (1821), *sub nomine*, and Thomaso Porcacchi de Castiglione, *Historia dell'illustrissima Famiglia Malaspina* (Verona, 1585).

Horatio appears on p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> His "instruction" is printed on pp. 269-70 by P. O. von Törne, *Ptolémée Gallio* (1907).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 213. "La mission de Malaspina pouvait donc être considérée comme complètement échouée."

the frame was broken up by what de Campos calls "beams" to give one big and one smaller space. The latter held a window through which a little cross could be viewed. And the former was filled by two silver angels supporting in their hands another crystal window through which could be seen a holy thorn. This appears to be regarded as the chief relic in the reliquary, and de Campos says that it had been placed by the Emperor Charles IV. in the Collegiate Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Old Boleslavia, now called Brandais, in Bohemia, and that Wratislas de Pernestan gave it to Borgia. It is thus shown to be the relic authenticated by two other papers in the tin box, one in which de Pernestan (Pernstein) consigns it to Borgia, and the other in which the Chapter of the church in question consigns it to Pernstein. Just at this point, therefore, we have deeds behind Malaspina's certificate, two deep.

The first of these supporting deeds is our deed, No 6. It has attached by a ribbon the seal of Chancellor Pernstein, in red Spanish wax set in a lump of ordinary beeswax. The text is:

Ego, Wratislaus, liber Baro in Pernestain,<sup>1</sup> Dominus in Thowatschau, Prosnicz, et Leutomyschl, et Eques Aurei Velleris, Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis, Domini mei clementissimi, Intymus Consiliarius, necnon regni Bohemiæ Supremus Cancellarius, etc. . . . Notum facio universis et singulis ad quos hæ patentes literæ meæ pervenerint: Posteaquam Divus olim Romanorum Imperator, Carolus quartus, tanquam Rex Bohemiæ præmemoratae, ecclesiam collegiatam antiquæ Boleslaviæ sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani dictam, atque in hoc inclyto regno Bohemiæ sitam, ubi Sanctus Wenceslaus a fratre suo Boleslao, causa cupidinis regnandi, enormiter trucidatus atque sepultus est, corona e spinetis contexta qua mille puncturis sanctissimum caput Christi miserandum in modum fuit concisum, in perpetuam rei memoriam, tanquam Pater patriæ, pro cordis affectu, honestasset et ornasset: me præsentem particulam præfatae Coronæ spineæ, non exigua cum difficultate, a honorabilibus devotis N. Præposito, Decano, et toto Capitulo nuncupatae collegiatæ ecclesiæ antiquæ Boleslaviæ impetrasse atque obtinuisse, ut ex literis testimonialibus totius Capituli, mihi simul cum illa datis, plenius atque fusius patet.

<sup>1</sup> An account of Pernstein will be found below, pp. 92, 93.

Cum vero Illustris ac Magnificus Dominus, Dominus Joannes a Borgia, Serenissimi atque Catholicissimi Regis Hispaniarum etc. . . . Consiliarius, et apud memoratam sacram Cæsaream Majestatem et Legatus, ad dictam particulam spinæ de Corona Domini Salvatoris nostri tanquam thesaurum prætiostissimum, perdevotam contemplationem summam animi alacritatem cepisset, meque ut ipsi eandem particulam pro ea amicitia et conjunctione quæ mihi cum ipso intercedit, ad amorem et cultum Christi, communicarem, hocque testimonium, quod talis particula ex nuncupata ecclesia, sit vera et certa de Corona Domini, darem, amantissime rogasset, ejus petitioni minime renuere potui. Quapropter cum sciam quod nulla sit penes ipsum tanquam hominem omni genere virtutum præstantissimum ac devotissimum, illustrior species, quæ cum magis ad amorem et cultum Christi inflamet quam res sanctæ; talem particulam de spinea Corona Domini dicto Domino Joanni a Borgia; eo quod debeo animo, do et exhibeo, atque publice fateor, ipsam verissimam, omni fide dignam, atque certissimam esse. In cujus rei evidenti testimonium, has patentes literas meas fieri feci, manu propria subscripsi, et sigilli mei appensione muniri jussivi.

Actum in Regia arce Pragense,<sup>1</sup> ultima Octobris, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo nono.

L.S. WRA, A PERNESTAIN.

We see where Malaspina's clerk got his phrase *ex illis quibus coronatum punctum totiesque perforatum fuit pretiosum caput Redemptoris gentium, Christi Jesu*.<sup>2</sup> The *literæ testimoniales* mentioned in Pernstein's deed are clearly our deed No. 22. This is a parchment bearing no signatures, but sealed with the Chapter seal of Old Boleslavia (Altbuntzlau, Brandais, Brandeys). This seal bears the device of the martyrdom of St.

<sup>1</sup> The *Arx Pragensis* is the Royal Castle where the Imperial Court remained throughout this period. A very fine engraving entitled *Die kleine Seitte* (i.e., of Prague, which is on both sides of the river) in Matthew Merian's *Bohemia, Moravia et Silesia* (Frankfurt, 1650) gives a view of the Castle buildings dominating "Lesser Prague." The Chancery building is there seen adjoining the Great Hall of the Castle. It has been seen (p. 67 above) that Malaspina dates his deeds "Pragæ, in parva parte," so that the Nuntiature is likely to have been housed in one of the recently built residences that occupy the foreground of Merian's picture. There was something of the character of a "White-hall" about Lesser Prague.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 67.

Wenceslaus, and agrees with the description of the capitular seal given in *Acta Sanctorum*, September 28, under that saint.

The deed testifies in the name of the Chapter the donation to Dominus Vratislaus a Pernistain, and to his wife Domina Maria Mandrigue (*sic*) de Lara, of a Holy Thorn. It magnifies the sanctity of this relic, records that it was given to them by their founder, the Emperor Charles IV., and refers to King Wenceslaus the Martyr, their Patron. It is dated earlier in the same year, 1579. Altbuntzlau and Brandais were really two market towns on opposite banks of the Elbe, only some three miles in a direct line from Prague. In Altbuntzlau at this time stood the Collegiate Church, famous as the scene of the martyrdom of St. Wenceslaus. It was a composite building. The Bollandists, who give a full description of it under St. Wenceslaus, in *Acta Sanctorum*, September 28, say: "Templum ipsum multiplex est, et ecclesia altera super alteram ædificata." The ancient church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, in the doorway of which the royal martyr was done to death, at this time formed the crypt under the choir of a big mediæval church. The building of a *collegiata* above the church of the martyrdom had first been undertaken in 1046, by Duke Brzetislaus, who founded there a college of priests, and built a *Basilica, præpositura* and *cænobium* for them. Charles IV. was the next benefactor of the College, and our deed shews that the Canons regarded him as their second Founder. They are perhaps glad to emphasise this, to magnify the favour which they are doing to the Chancellor in giving him a sacred gift received from their founder. Our deed also makes it clear that the dedication of the upper church was not Saints Cosmas and Damian (which was only that of the old crypt church), but St. Wenceslaus. Such points of evidence have an enhanced interest from the fact that town and church were rased to the ground by the Swedes in 1640.<sup>1</sup> The Bollandists in 1760, in the volume of *Acta Sanctorum* cited

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Merian, *op. cit.*, has a plate showing the site of Altbuntzlau in his time, looking across to the castle of Brandeys on the further bank. The foreground contains scraps of ruined wall which apparently were all that remained of the town and *collegiata*. Every sign of the town of Brandais had disappeared.

above, printed all that they could find as a memorial of this vanished holy place of Bohemia. And our deed is one further scrap of Altbuntzlau matter saved from oblivion.

A holy place it was, for though the body of St. Wenceslaus, first buried there in 936, had been three years later translated by the fratricide Boleslaus himself to the church of St. Vitus at Prague, his blood splashed on the wall was said to be still visible. Also there remained in the church a relic of great esteem, an ikon of the Madonna and Child,<sup>1</sup> said to have been taken from the top of his standard, and further reputed to have been brought to Bohemia by Saints Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the country. At the sack of Altbuntzlau the Swedes carried this off, and the Austrians redeemed it with a heavy ransom, and placed it in the Strohoff monastery at Prague.<sup>2</sup>

The Canons of Altbuntzlau still retained a Holy Thorn as a prized possession, large, and with blood on the tip.<sup>3</sup> And it must have been a relic of quite special prestige. For Charles IV. was the recipient, at the hands of King John the Good of France, of a portion taken from the complete Crown for which St. Louis built the Sainte Chapelle. That Crown, as is well known, was obtained at a great price from the Venetian Republic, which had advanced money upon it as a security, to Jean de Brienne, Latin Emperor of Constantinople. It appears, therefore, that São Roque has one relic whose history can be followed back with reasonable assurance for seven centuries.

The four relics at the "Recebimento" that were chosen to be honoured with a Papal grant of Jubilee were less historic. The principle on which they were selected seems to have had reference to their donors, as much as to their fame as relics. But

<sup>1</sup> In honour of this, Altbuntzlau held an annual "Supplication" of the Blessed Virgin. The Jesuits, when they came to the town in 1577, made this a starting-point for their characteristic work of fostering popular forms of piety. And see B. Balbinus, *Epitome Rerum Bohemicarum* (Prague, 1677), Bk. VII.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Universal Lexicon* (Halle, 1737), s.v. *Brandeys*. For Altbuntzlau, see also J. Schmidl, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 and following, Pessina, *op. cit.*, p. 1046, and Balbinus, *op. cit.*, Bk. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Balbinus, *op. cit.*, Bk. VI., p. 42.

the reception of the Holy Thorn at Lisbon shows that it was there regarded, if not as the first, at any rate as one of the outstanding relics of the collection. This is seen in the fact that it was borne in the hands of a bishop at the point of honour of the whole procession, and that when the Cardinal Viceroy visited the newly arrived relics in São Roque, the Holy Thorn was of the number which the Bishop of Hibernia administered for His Highness to kiss.<sup>1</sup>

We have here a clear instance in which Malaspina's deed did not supersede the earlier certification.

Another of Malaspina's authorities would seem to be the deed which Ribeiro numbered 58 (ii.). This is over the name of John Ponethowski de Ponethow, *Abbas Gradicensis*, who certifies that he gave to Father Francisco Antonio of the Jesuit College at Prague, on August 25, 1579, relics of Saints Matthew, Adalbert, Lawrence, Stephen, Wenceslaus, Christopher, Augustine, Ursula, Dorothy and Margaret. The deed, however, is not the original deed of Ponetowski's drawing, but a copy certified by Father Antonio on October 26, 1579. That must mean that the relics mentioned in the deed had been divided by their recipient, and that a portion had been given to Borgia by Antonio with this copy, while he retained the original certificate and the remainder. We have no means of establishing which of the relics he gave to Borgia. Nothing actually of St. Ursula appears in the "Recebimento" list. But all the other names are represented in the lists for the big reliquaries covered by the Malaspina deeds. In particular, they are represented in deeds Nos. 5 and 7, and in the cases of Saints Adalbert and Wenceslaus, there only. Francisco Antonio<sup>2</sup> was a Portuguese Jesuit attached to the

<sup>1</sup> So de Campos. The Cardinal awaited the procession on the steps of São Roque. After the ceremony of welcome, the relics were carried into the church, and as soon as they had been deposited, the Cardinal made his state visit to them, and withdrew.

<sup>2</sup> Francisco Antonio was born, according to Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, in 1545. But as this would make him only thirteen at the time of joining the Society; and working with Balthasar da Pina in Sardinia at fourteen; it is clear that Sotwell must be right in correcting the date to 1535. From Sardinia he went to be Novice-master at Rome, whence he was



household of the Empress Maria. He first came in touch with the court at Vienna in 1568. And when Borgia arrived on his legation eight years later, he had become very influential.<sup>1</sup> He had just made himself more precious by asking to be dismissed to go on the Indian mission. His official position was *Prædicator* to the empress, but the title, in his case, seems to have covered very confidential relations.

He was therefore brought, during the following years, into close relations with the Chief Chamberlain, which led to a personal friendship to be measured by the fact that he became confessor to Borgia and his wife, and undertook for them the charge of conveying the relics for the "Recebimento" from Madrid to Lisbon. To these evidences may now be added the fact that in 1579 he shared with Borgia the relics he received from Ponetowski.

Abbot Jan Ponetowski was a Polish nobleman who, at an early age, in 1576, received the abbacy of the Præmonstratensian house of St. Stephen, which crowned the rocky height of Hradistie,<sup>2</sup> a short way from the walls of Olmütz, on the

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sent to Austria. At Vienna he was Director to St. Stanislas Kostka. He became *Prædicator* to Maria in 1574, and remained in her household for the rest of her life. He died at Madrid, February 15, 1610. He left a Manual for Christian soldiers, and a volume of "Considerations" on various subjects, including one on Relics. See Sotwell and Sommervogel, *op. cit.* Though he wrote in Spanish, he was of Portuguese upbringing, and received into the Society at Coimbra. For his part in the "Recebimento," see above, p. 34, note.

<sup>1</sup> See B. Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen des 16 Jahrhunderts* (1901), pp. 15-18. (This is Bd. II., Hft. 4, of the series *Erläuterungen u. Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, edited by L. Pastor).

Antonio seems to have opened the way for Maggio to regain influence with Rudolph.

<sup>2</sup> Whence it is called the *Monasterium Gradicense*. Matthew Merian, *Bohemia, etc.*, has a plate shewing Olmütz, with the ruins of Hradistie in the background. The time is that of the Swedish war. See T. J. Pessina, *Mars Moravicus*, pp. 65, 574, and Adam Rübner, *Memoriale Sæculorum*, pp. 192-202.

The abbey of Hradistie was founded in 1075 as a Benedictine house. It was recolonised in 1149 with Præmonstratensian Canons from the abbey of Strohoff, Strahovia or Mount Zion at Prague. Hradistie was sacked by the Hussites in 1432, and restored thirty years afterwards. The Canons carried the sacred relics from their church into Olmütz when

north. He was, perhaps, son of the poet and writer Jan Ponetowski, "Dominus de Ponetov," whose *Krotki rzeczy Polskich sejinowych* was published at Cracow in 1569. A clue to his history is afforded by a medal reproduced in Count Edward Raczynski's *Médailles de Pologne*,<sup>1</sup> which bears his effigy. A number of such medals were struck, in Poland, at this period, as a token of recognition bestowed upon distinguished subjects of the Polish crown. Raczynski's plate 55 (c)<sup>2</sup> shews us in profile a young bearded ecclesiastic in a high-collared cassock and cap. The face, of which the most remarkable feature is a big high-bridged nose, is curiously unprepossessing. The surrounding legend runs JOANNES PONETOWSKI . AB . GRD. The reverse of the medal shews a coat of arms under a prelate's hat<sup>3</sup> and the legend SS . A . PROTHONOTARIUS. Neither side bears any date.

The absence of the style of Protonotary from our deed makes it probable that Ponetowski received that dignity later than 1579. It is quite likely that it was the dignity that brought him the further honour of the medal. For neither his later history nor his appearance justify one in supposing that he obtained it as the reward of some personal achievement of his own. We may view him as a figure in one of those complex political schemes with which Roman diplomacy was busy at this time, and the medal as an index of the hopes which that scheme aroused in Poland. His birth and nobility made him a subject of King Stephen Bathory, his preferment was under Rudolph, and his Protonotariate invested him with elastic powers to act

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they retreated before the Hussites, and carried them back on their restoration. It is possible that some or all of Ponetowski's gift had shared in this history.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> The medal was communicated by Doctor Köhne of Berlin, who had it in his possession. Raczynski knew of a tomb of a Jan Poniatowski at Padua, where the spelling had been changed from Ponetowski, and thought this to be our Ponetowski.

<sup>3</sup> The coat of arms shews a barbed spur dexter, and a four-posted canopy sinister, impaled. Raczynski (Tom. I., p. 275) describes it as *L'écusson de Ponetowski, surmonté du chapeau de cardinal*. This is a patent and wild guess. The hat-strings have only two branches, and two tassels to the branch.

for the papacy.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to guess the general character of the part he was intended to play. It was one bound to put him often into relations with the Empress Maria. But he disappointed all the expectations that had been formed of him, and immediately after the accession of Sigismund III., he was disgraced and disappears. The unhappy ending to his story may best be told in the terse phrases of the historian of his Order:

Joannes Ponetowski, nobilis Polonus, Prælaturam (*i.e.* Gradiensem) optimatum favore invasit, regimine mali morato græcandi doctior quam regnandi, ad ultimum discrimen monasterium adduxit, a quo judicialiter pulsus est, anno 1587.<sup>2</sup>

His predecessor and successor were men of a very different stamp, and marked by the very great generosity and cordiality which they shewed towards the work of the Jesuits in Olmütz.<sup>3</sup> But with a man like Ponetowski, we cannot look to such motives for the explanation of his gift to Antonio. With such a man, it was more likely to be that the confidential agent of Maria had laid him under an obligation, in some business of per-

<sup>1</sup> A characteristic step in the administration of Sixtus V. was the increase in the college of Protonotaries at Rome, from seven to twelve, and a corresponding increase in the number of honorary or non-resident Protonotaries. The office was one whose functions were comparatively undefined, and consequently a Protonotary could be invested with almost any degree of authority to act.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Hugo, *Sacræ et Canonicæ Ordinis Præmonstratensis Annales*, Part I., Tom. I., col. 755 (1734-1736).

He began, in 1577, by selling the *ditiones* of Besmirau, Hradisko with its benefice, and Zlobitz to the barons Hans and Joachim von Haugwitz. (Gregor Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren*, 1846, Bd. V., p. 402, citing from the Olmütz Land-register.) As a result of this kind of misuse of his office, he brought the monastery into such indebtedness that in 1594 the debt was estimated at 88,790 florins.

<sup>3</sup> The Jesuits were invited to take up work in Olmütz by Bishop Prussinowski in 1558. Ten years later, they found their home for a while at Hradistie, through the hospitality of Ponetowski's predecessor, Abbot Caspar de Littowia (1556-1576), a count palatine, and a munificent benefactor of the abbey, and of the Jesuit College. In 1575, the students of the new college performed a "dialogue" in his honour at Hradistie.

Ponetowski's successor was Abbot Paul Grünwaldt (1587-1593), under whom the Canons sent their *Recentiores alumni* to the Jesuit classes.

See Hugo, *l.c.*; also A. Pilarz and F. Moravetz, *Moravia Historia* (1785), Pt. III., p. 36, and Schmidl, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 351.

sonal concern to himself. The gift was not a very notable one, for the relics were all small and of no special prestige. And it is not made to Antonio for any specified purpose (such as for conveyance to the Jesuit church at Prague), but simply to him personally (as is proved by the fact that he proceeded to share the relics with Borgia).

It is difficult to imagine why, if Malaspina did really destroy any papers which he regarded himself as having superseded, he did not destroy this deed No. 58 (ii.).

Deed No. 18 is again one in which are the names of saints to be found in Malaspina deeds and in other parts of the "Recebimento" lists than those deeds cover. This deed, like that which has just been discussed, contains no mention of Borgia, but certifies a purely personal gift to someone else. This time the recipient is an officer of Rudolph's court, and the transaction took place before Borgia first arrived in Austria. Unlike deed No. 58 (ii.), it is a signed and sealed original (though the seal is broken); and it may therefore be presumed that it later reached Borgia in company with so much of the collection of relics which it covers as were not retained by the original recipient, or previously bestowed in other quarters. The text of deed No. 18 is as follows:

Nos, Helena Budæ, abbatissa Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ Posonii<sup>1</sup> in Ungaria;

Notum facimus per presentes literas nostras dedisse nos Illustri ac Magnifico Domino, domino Adamo de Dietrichstein, Libero Baroni in Hollenburth, Finckenstein et Thalbergh, Hæreditario provinciæ Carinthiæ supremo Camerario et intimo consiliario, Sacræ Cæsareæ et Regiæ Maiestatis ac Serenissimi Romanorum Hungariæ et Bohemiæ Regis Rudolphi consiliario, cubiculario et supremo aulæ Magistro, etc., de Spina Domini partem, Caput sancti Chrisanti episcopi Basiliensis,<sup>2</sup> Caput sanctæ Christinæ virginis et martyris, Partem de pede Mariæ Magdalenæ, Partem de corda sive zono sanctæ Isabellæ Reginæ Ungariæ, de præsepio Domini, de brachio

<sup>1</sup> *Posonium* is Pozsony or Pressburg, in N.W. Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> This head of St. Crysanthus appears in the "Descobrimento" list as on the cushion-reliquary No. 39. And for the earlier mentions, see above, pp. 40 and 47.

sancti Henrici Imperatoris, Partem costæ sancti Albani, martyr-  
is et episcopi, Partem sancti Urbani et Vincentii, Partem de  
velo sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, Partem de tunica sanctæ Isa-  
bellæ Reginæ Ungariæ,<sup>1</sup> Partem de brachio sancti Christophori,  
Partem de sancta Margareta, Partem sancti Felicis et Aucti,<sup>2</sup>  
Partem sancti Stephani prothomartyris, Partem de populo  
beatæ virginis Mariæ, Partem de sancta Sophia vidua, Partem  
de costa sancti Laurentii, de brachio sancti Jacobi apostoli,  
partem, de sancto Pancratio, partem, de sancto Donato,  
episcopo et martyri, partem, de sancta Fortunata virgine,  
partem, de pede sancti Bartholomei, partem.

Atque hoc ita esse, chyrographi et sigilli nostri fide et authori-  
tate testatum esse volumus.

Datum posonii nono die mensis Februarii, in Aede sacra  
Mariæ Magdalenæ, Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo  
septuagesimo sexto.

HELENA BUDÆ.

*Abadesa.*

L.S.

STEPHANUS LINCHTIUS ARNHEIMENSIS.

It is clear by script that the lower of these signatures is that  
of the clerk or notary who actually wrote the deed. But the  
abbess has signed with her own hand (as well as her own  
orthography).

In February, 1576, Maximilian was still alive, and so  
Dietrichstein's offices are defined in relation to him as well as  
to Rudolph, who had become King of Hungary in 1572, and of  
Bohemia in 1575. The recipient of the relics, Adam von  
Dietrichstein, born in 1527 at Grätz, was a younger son of the  
Carinthian house of Finckenstein and Hollenburth, who grew  
up at the imperial court, and was appointed tutor to Rudolph  
and Ernest, to take them to Spain,<sup>3</sup> where he superintended

<sup>1</sup> *Isabella* is Elisabeth of Hungary.

<sup>2</sup> These are no doubt the Roman martyrs Felix and Adauctus.

<sup>3</sup> A. Pilarz and F. Moravetz, *Moraviæ Historia*, Pt. III., p. 40.  
"Moderator . . . Rudolphi filii Cæsaris in Hispania," pp. 40-48, for an  
account of von Dietrichstein.

See also, for his relations with the Jesuits, J. Schmidl, *Hist. S.J. Prov. Bohem.* (Pt. I.), pp. 417-8 and 477, and *Rerum gestarum Gentis Dietrichstein*, pp. 106 and 117.

Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopædia*, s.v. Dietrichstein, and the *Almanac de Gotha*, 1836, for general accounts of the family. Adam and his eldest son, Maximilian, received Hungarian citizenship at the *Comitia* of 1583.

their education, 1563-1571. By the time of their return to Austria, von Dietrichstein had established his own personal position in the court, and identified himself with the catholic cause. This he shewed when, in 1575, the Emperor, having confirmed him in possession of the fief of Nikolsburg, which he had purchased, and enrolled him among the Moravian nobility,<sup>1</sup> he called in the Jesuits to bring his newly acquired domain back to Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> So successfully was this carried out, that he received a letter of congratulation from Gregory XIII. His third son, Francis, became a Cardinal.<sup>3</sup> His considerable and distinguished service to the Empire showed him, all through, devoted to the cause of the Counter-reformation.<sup>4</sup> He died in 1590.

It is harder to say anything about the donatrix. She does not name the order to which she belongs. But the house of St. Mary Magdalene at Pozsony has a history that can be traced down to this time, and helps to throw some light on Abbess Helena.

It was founded in 1132, by King Bela II., as a Cistercian nunnery.<sup>5</sup> But in the following century, for some cause, the

<sup>1</sup> Pilarz and Moravetz, *op. cit.*, Pt. III., p. 40, for the circumstances of his acquisition of Nikolsburg.

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Maggio and Michael Cardanus were the missionaries. The Jesuit *Annua Litteræ* for 1582, pp. 201 *seqq.*, gives an account of this mission, and of another at Leithomischl, the Pernstein domain where the family usually resided.

<sup>3</sup> Sigismund, the second, became a count of the Empire.

<sup>4</sup> Castagna, in a letter of 1578, speaks of complaints made that Rudolph was completely in Dietrichstein's hands (*Nuntiatur-berichte aus Deutschland*, Abt. III., Bd. II., Hansen, pp. 236-9). He was ambassador to Spain in 1579, to negotiate the religious peace. In 1588 he successfully composed the feud between the Archdukes of Austria and the Dukes of Bavaria.

<sup>5</sup> See Jacob Rupp, *Magyarország helyszíni története* ("Topographical History of Hungary"), Tom. I. (1870), pp. 65-69. (This reference was most kindly supplied by Countess Bérán Jankovich, in answer to an enquiry conveyed by Mr. H. J. Wood, M.A., of Clare College).

Also Theodor Ortway, *Geschichte der Stadt Pressburg*, Bd. II., Pt. 4 (1895), p. 529. The identification of the house of our deed with the Clarissa house is obscured by the fact that the dedication title (St. Mary Magdalene) is hardly ever used. Like other Clarissa convents, it is frequently called *monasterium Sanctæ Claræ*. This Order, alone among the more modern Orders, called its Superiors by the title of *Abbatissa*.

congregation was dispersed. In 1297, King Andrew II. recolonised the house with Poor Clares. It thus became the second house of the Order in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> For over two centuries it increased in prosperity, and the favour of the citizens of Pozsony. Then came the disaster of Mohacs, and brought as refugees to the house the Clarissas of the Convent of Our Lady in Old Buda.<sup>2</sup> But Pozsony was now filled with martial preparations, and the whole company of nuns went out, leaving their convent to act first as hospital and then as grain-store.<sup>3</sup> But after a while some sisters returned. The authors of *Topographia Hungariæ* record that "someone says" Ferdinand I. placed them in their house again,<sup>4</sup> and there is no doubt fact behind this vague statement. So began the period of the life of the house to which our document belongs.

In the previous period, to judge by recorded benefactions, the convent was filled with daughters of Pozsony citizens and of country families round, and supported by produce of land near the town.<sup>5</sup> But afterwards there was at least another element. Clarissas from Wardein took refuge at Pozsony (which was their mother-house) in 1566.<sup>6</sup> And the fact that our abbess Helena styles herself "of Buda" shews that she is not local, but claims to be of the Old Buda congregation, which may be pre-

<sup>1</sup> Ortway, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-534, gives the history of the convent down to 1526, with very full documentation. After that point, he fails to maintain this standard. In the first part of his second volume, pp. 288-297, he gives a description and architectural history of the convent church, which still stands.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this convent, see M. Bonbardi and J. B. Trsztzyanski, *Topographia Hungariæ* (Vienna, 1750), p. 220. Also deeds published by Augustin Theiner, *Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia* (Rome, 1860), Tom. II., pp. 4, 5, 37, 40, 42, 43. It was founded by Elizabeth, Queen of Charles I. of Hungary (when Queen-Dowager), in 1334.

<sup>3</sup> So says the anonymous *Pressburg und seine Umgebung* (1865), confirmed in part by Bonbardi, *op. cit.*, p. 296. The phrase is:

"Nach 1526, wurden die Ofner Schwestern hierher versetzt, verliessen aber bald, aus Furcht den Türken, das Kloster, das nun dazu bestimmt war, die Kranken und Siechen der vorstädtischen Spitäler aufzunehmen."

<sup>4</sup> Bonbardi and Trsztzyanski, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Ortway, *l.c.*, cites numerous bequests.

<sup>6</sup> Ortway, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

sumed to be preserving thus its identity.<sup>1</sup> Such a presumption is corroborated by the fact that Mother Frances Csáky and seven sisters from this convent went back to recolonise the convent of Old Buda in 1614.<sup>2</sup> In so doing they evidently left the Pozsony house nearly empty. For Dominican sisters, dispossessed from a convent at Tyrnau to make room for Jesuit Fathers,<sup>3</sup> were now brought into the Clarissa convent at Pozsony, and apparently pressed to transfer their obedience to the Order of which they had been made house-mates.<sup>4</sup> And though one or two clung to the Dominican habit, the Dominican revenues were made over to the Poor Clares.<sup>5</sup> It thus appears that during the period with which we are concerned, the Pozsony convent had lost its local character, and consisted, perhaps predominantly, of Hungarian women of refugee stock, who looked to Buda as their real home. The treatment accorded to the Tyrnau Dominicans, greatly resented by their Order,<sup>6</sup> suggests that it was not possible to restore the old conditions by local recruiting. And this in turn argues that the house was no longer in receipt of the same material support from local sources as before.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In similar fashion, the Deanery of *Vetus Buda* kept its ecclesiastical existence. See visitation and synod lists in C. Peterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Hungariae* (Pozsony, 1742), Pt. II., *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Bonbardius, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 327. The nuns were removed to Pozsony in 1615. The Jesuits went into the house forthwith, and found the house ruinous, and the church (of St. John Baptist) in bad repair. Cardinal Forgacz assisted them, and in 1616 they opened their academy.

The authors of the *Topographia* were Jesuits. The other side of the story is told in Sigismund Ferrari, *De rebus Ungaricae provinciae Sac. Ordinis Prædicatorum*, pp. 550-551 (Vienna, 1637).

On p. 221, the authors of the *Topographia* make the curious blunder of dating the move of the Dominican sisters to Pozsony, *mandato Pauli V.*, as 1572.

<sup>4</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 550. Ferrari as Provincial-designate of the revived Hungarian province of the O.P., visited Pozsony in 1635, to venerate the relics of St. Margaret, preserved in the Clarissa church, and learned how, *quibusdam Ordinem permutantibus*, two senior members of the Tyrnau congregation had kept the Dominican habit to the end.

<sup>5</sup> Bonbardius, *op. cit.*, p. 221. This was by order of Matthias II.

<sup>6</sup> Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-7.

<sup>7</sup> Andreas Lehotsky, *Stemmatographia* (Posonii, 1796), p. 240, speaks of the monks of *S. Crux de Austria* as enjoying the domain of Pratsa, be-



The probability is, therefore, that the community ruled by Mother Helena was poor. If it was mainly a refugee community, we can judge of the conditions under which it is likely to have laboured, from the history of the Dominican congregation already mentioned. That was also a refugee congregation, being none other than that of the famous house of the *Insula Leporum* at Buda, of which St. Margaret of Hungary had been a member.<sup>1</sup>

In 1526 the sisters fled from Buda, carrying their portable wealth, which was considerable. There was the treasure of relics, and particularly the body of St. Margaret. But there was also treasure of marketable value, in the form of rich vestments, books and church vessels. They found a home, after some wanderings, in a deserted house of Dominican Friars at Tyrnau, whence they were evicted in 1614. Their convertible wealth was all gone by 1572, when they obtained a grant of revenue from Maximilian II. on the ground of destitution.<sup>2</sup> But they still had their relics, and these came with them to the Clarissan house at Pozsony in 1614, whence the Dominican Order was still making ineffectual attempts to recover the relics of St. Margaret of Hungary during the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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longing to the Convent of St. Mary Magdalene of Pozsony, in 1367. This must be a misprint for 1567.

<sup>1</sup> Bonbardius, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 543-545.

<sup>2</sup> The deed of grant is given by Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 546-550.

<sup>3</sup> Ferrari's visit to Pozsony in 1635 had this in view. The Franciscan friars clearly suspected his intentions, and made difficulty about allowing a visit to the relics. The Jesuit Father Jacob Nemethi and the Father Rector, however, took him to the Clarissa church. The nuns' Confessor had brought a colleague, to make safe, and exhibited the relics *e fenestella sacristiæ*. A firm refusal having met Ferrari's request for a relic, he stole a tiny one in the usual manner, by the surreptitious use of forceps.

At the Chapter-general of Dominicans at Bologna in 1725, it was resolved as follows: "Committimus Reverendissimo Præsidenti, apostolico hujusce capituli et Ordinis procuratori, ut supplicem se det SS. pro restitutione corporis beatæ Margaretæ, regis Hungariæ filiæ, ac Ordinis nostri, huic eidem Ordini facienda, a sanctimonialibus ad S. Claram Posonii, penes quas asservari ferunt."

(Andreas Fruhwirth and B. M. Reichert, *Acta Capitulorum Generalium O.P.*, vol. ix., 1904, p. 74: Tom. XIV, in Reichert's *Monumenta. Ord. Frat. Praed. Historica*.)

So, too, the Poor Clares of Old Buda will have fled, carrying what they could save, including their relics, and come to Pozsony.<sup>1</sup> But when that house was evacuated, while the Pozsony sisters might readily be dispersed to neighbouring convents across the border, the refugees, speaking in all probability only Hungarian, would naturally cling together. Settled eventually, at Pozsony, they, no doubt, maintained the same kind of existence as their former Dominican neighbours had at Tyrnau.<sup>2</sup>

We may, perhaps, see in the form of our deed, evidence that, in 1576, the relics belonging to the sisters were poorly housed. It will be noticed that they are named in the deed in an entirely haphazard order. The clerk, Linchtius, would appear to have written their names and descriptions into the deed as he came to them. Had they been separately enclosed, so that it was easy to see which were of major importance, they would naturally have been in such order. But if they were all in one box, simply wrapped up with their *schedulæ* in pieces of silk, so that they had to be extracted and unwrapped before their nature became apparent, the disorder is explained.

On the other hand, the relics in themselves form a lavish gift. It should bespeak some very strong feeling of recognition, on the part of the sisters, of something done by von Dietrichstein. Its richness in one order of values, taken in conjunction with the evidences of the poverty of the givers as touching a more material order, suggests that von Dietrichstein had been the agent of some notable benefit to the house. He had been back at the imperial court for five years. And the fact that he and his son were subsequently incorporated into

<sup>1</sup> The Dominicans carried, in their flight, vestments adorned with gold and gems, jasper candelabra, an enamelled chalice and paten set with pearls, and church books. They had had particularly rich gifts from King Bela IV. at the profession of his daughter St. Margaret. But the Clarissa convent was also a royal foundation, and must have had wealth at least comparable with this (Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 545).

<sup>2</sup> Ferrari says that when they got to Tyrnau, there were still friars in the house, who gave up part of the building to the sisters, and some measure of support may have come from the friars. But by 1572 *pro sustentatione vitæ bonis aliquibus indigebant*.

Hungarian citizenship, argues that he had manifested his interest in Hungarian affairs. He was an earnest supporter of the Counter-reformation. And it is inherently likely that he would exert himself to ameliorate the condition of such folk as these Poor Clares of Pozsony.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the gift is likely to have been pleasing to him for reasons other than the evidence it might give of the gratitude of the donors. His very recent acquisition of the barony of Nikolsburg, and his plans for the re-Catholicising of the tenantry, would make such means to the cultivation of piety as these relics particularly opportune. But in 1581, we must suppose, personal feeling prompted him to send so much

<sup>1</sup> The convent was destined to be in trouble again, however, very soon. The destructive fire of 1590, which destroyed a great part of the town, did not spare the conventual buildings. The Buda contingent of 1614 were so far fortunate in their move. The *Vetus Buda* conventual buildings were intact, the church only having been destroyed by the Turks to build fortifications. A wealthy patroness built them a new church on the north of the convent, and they commenced a prosperous restored community life.

The sisters left behind at Pozsony must have fared worse, especially when the Tyrnau Dominicans had to be housed as well. For in 1635 Cardinal Pazmany found the conventual buildings so bad that he decided to demolish them and build afresh. He died in 1637, with the work unfinished. But his successor, Emeric Lossy, completed the work in 1640. And so the Pozsony house began its period of restored prosperity (Bonbardius, *op. cit.*, p. 296).

It may be noted that our deed has given clues to that part of the history of the convent with regard to which our other sources are silent, or in error. It appears to indicate confusion in writers as well informed as Lehotsky and Korabinsky. The former says: "Anno 1540, idem claustrum Clarissarum assignatur militibus Viennam contra Turcam defensuris, et Posonii excubantibus. 1542 idem Clarissis Budensibus restituitur. Sed diffugientibus iisdem, in Hospitale Pauperum, cum consensu Ferdinandi I convertitur" (Andreas Lehotsky, *Stemmographia*, p. 240). This seems to put the desertion of the house by the Buda nuns much too late.

Korabinsky, arguing from the Dominican relics in the church, supposes that the house was given over to Dominicans at some stage, and says simply that under Ferdinand it was a "Lazareth." He notes that the Clarissas had been removed and the building given over to act as a college for Pozsony shortly before he wrote, and that a lot of ornaments of gold and pearl had been found in the building. So do dispersed religious communities suffer from the scandal that strives to justify their dispersion! (Johannes Matthæus Korabinsky, *Lexikon von Ungarn*, 1786, s.v. Possonium).

of the collection as remained free for disposal, to Borgia, and with it the original deed of gift that he had had from Mother Helena.

When we look for these relics in the "Recebimento" lists, the head of St. Crysanthus meets the eye at once. It is in one of four head reliquaries on the second litter. The skull of St. Christina does not appear. But a relic of St. Christina, not accounted for in any other deed, appears on the list of Malaspina's deed No. 7, while the skull of an Ursuline virgin unnamed is with that of St. Crysanthus on the second litter.<sup>1</sup>

Misplacement of *schedulæ* was not infrequent, as is indicated by the adoption of such safeguards as the binding of silk of a certain colour on the relic itself, and the entry of a note of this distinguishing mark in certificates of authenticity issued with relics from the catacombs. Where, as has been suggested was the case with the Pozsony relics, the *schedulæ* were loose tickets wrapped up with the relic in a silk napkin, misplacement would be peculiarly easy. So the nameless skull may in fact be that of St. Christina.

The relics of Saints Mary Magdalene, Christopher and Margaret in deed No. 18 might be those of Malaspina's deed No. 7. Those of Saints Mary Magdalene, James the Great, Bartholomew, Stephen, Vincent and Lawrence in deed No. 18 might be those of deed No. 2. That of Our Lady's veil might be identical in deeds Nos. 18 and 16. On the other hand, the relics of Our Lord's crib, and of Saints Urban, Felix, Adauctus, Sophia, Pancras, Donatus and Fortunata may be presumed to have been kept by von Dietrichstein, or bestowed by him elsewhere. If de Campos was right and Malaspina's clerk was

<sup>1</sup> We may judge that the principal relics held by the Clarissas of old Buda before 1526 were "Sanctæ Dorotheæ et Undecim millium Virginum." Leo X, in 1513, granted indulgence to the *abbatissa* and *moniales* of the *monasterium beatæ Mariæ Virginis opidi Budæveteris* on the feasts of the Visitation and Annunciation, and of Saints Clare, Dorothy and the Ursuline virgins (Theiner, *op. cit.*, Tom. II., pp. 612-3). The Ursuline saints were popular in Hungary because they had met their martyrdom at the hands of the Huns. It was felt that they would welcome the devotion of the Christian descendants of their murderers. The importance of the gift of the two skulls certified by deed No. 18 is thus emphasised.

wrong as to the contents of the reliquary certified in deed No. 13, the piece of the rib of St. Alban mentioned in deed No. 18 may be sought there. Again, the relic of St. Henry the Emperor in deed No. 18 may be entered in Malaspina's deed No. 14 as St. Henry the King. Henry II. of Germany, and his Queen-Empress Kunegund, of whom a relic is named in deed No. 16, were fashionable examples of marital chastity.<sup>1</sup> But the name of St. Henry is missing from de Campos' list, its place being taken by that of St. John Eleemosynary. At the same time, the large arm reliquary of St. John Eleemosynary on the fourth litter contained an arm-bone more than the deeds account for. A hypothetical explanation of these facts is that the *schedula* from the Pozsony arm-bone of St. Henry strayed, and that the bone was then assigned to the arm-shaped reliquary made for the finger relics of St. John Eleemosynary, that the *schedula* came to rest in a compartment of the reliquary covered by deed No. 14, but that the relic in the compartment had an adhering *schedula* identifying it as a small relic of St. John Eleemosynary. Conjecture here far outstrips certainty, but may serve to emphasise the point that is beyond doubt, namely, that insufficient care in marking relics for purposes of

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Siebert, *Beiträge zur vorreformatatorischen Heiligen und Reliquienverehrung*, p. 26. Siebert notes the considerations leading to the popularity of the cultus of particular saints during the period in which the collections were being made from which Borgia received his German relics. It followed that churches and Orders wished to have relics of those saints whom the preachers most held up for admiration, and the people, for that or other reasons, most wanted to see. Out of the list of those saints whom he reviews in this way, the following are named in the Borgia collection.

Andrew, Anne, Ambrose, Apollonia, Augustine, Aurelia, Barbara, Bartholomew, Bernard, Brigit, Christopher, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Florentius, Gregory the Great, Henry, Jerome, James the Great, John Baptist, Catherine, Kunegund, Lawrence, Mary Magdalene, Margaret, Mark, Martin, Matthew, Matthias, Nicholas, Peter and Paul, Philip and James, Roch, Sebastian, Stephen, Thomas, Ursula, Valentine, Wolfgang, Erasmus, Gereon.

On the other hand, the only popular saints mentioned by Siebert not represented in Borgia's collection are Bonaventure, Francis, Joseph, Morand and Sebald.

Siebert's brief but significant study was published in 1907 as Bd. VI., Hft. 1., of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (L. v. Pastor).

identification has been responsible alike for the loss of relics and for the creation of relics. It has been shewn that deed No. 18 is possibly, or even probably, one of the certificates lying behind the Malaspina deeds. But the like cannot be said of any of the remaining deeds in the tin box. We have been able to marshal only a very thin array of *diversæ membranæ et chartæ* as against Malaspina's ample assertion. The reader must decide whether he thinks that there ever existed such a store of documents as the phrase implies.

## CHAPTER VI

### BORGIA'S FRIENDS AT THE IMPERIAL COURT

It is certain that Borgia and von Dietrichstein were in close personal contact during the time of the former's residence at Prague. It is possible that their acquaintance may date back to the time of von Dietrichstein's residence in Spain. But our deed No. 18 may be taken as indicating what ordinary historical notices do not indicate, that there existed warm personal friendship between them. Clearly, von Dietrichstein made to Borgia a present of relics from among a collection which he had received some time previously. There is nothing to date the gift. But the form of the authentication would seem to point to it being a farewell gift, when Borgia was about to depart. Borgia had a very high standard in the matter of documentation of the relics in his possession, and would certainly desire to have a deed with whatever relics von Dietrichstein gave him. That he should have been given the original deed accompanying the whole of von Dietrichstein's collection would be rather surprising, except under circumstances of haste.

Another associate, similarly proved to be a friend, is Baron Wratislaus von Pernstein,<sup>1</sup> Chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Imperial Councillor and *Præfectus stabuli*, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and one of the inner group that controlled imperial affairs. He came of a long line of Pernsteins, free barons of Leitomischl, Prosznicz, Plumlov and Thowaczow,

<sup>1</sup> For Pernstein, as a friend of the Counter-reformation, the most intimate source is J. Schmidl, *Hist. S.J. Prov. Bohem.*, Pt. I., especially pp. 287, 320, 344, 349, 386, 389, 403, 404, 477 and 478.

For the family origins, see T. J. Pessina, *Mars Moravicus*, p. 72, and Johann Friederich Gauhe, *Des heil. Röm. Reich Adels-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1740) s.v. *Bärenstein*.

who took their name from Pernstein castle in the mountains near Brünn. The Barons Pernstein were hereditary Chamberlains to the King of Bohemia.

Baron Wratislaus makes his first appearance in state affairs in 1565, as "Orator" for Prosznicz to sue from Maximilian II. the renewal of the "Diploma of twenty-seven privileges." Seven years later, he, with Wilhelm von Rosenberg, represented Bohemia at the coronation of Sigismund II. of Poland. He married the Lady Maria Manriquez de Lara, daughter of a Spanish minister of Maximilian II.,<sup>1</sup> and was wholeheartedly on the Catholic side. The Protestants saw in him an implacable and unscrupulous foe, while the Jesuits hailed him as "Munificus Mæcenaz." He and his wife were their constant friends in all difficulties. He placed his library at Thowaczow castle at their disposal, obtained a university charter for their college at Olmütz, and founded there closed scholarships for youths from his own four *ditiones* of Leitomischl, Prosznicz, Plumlov and Thowaczow.<sup>2</sup> He died at the age of fifty-two, on October 27, 1582, and like von Dietrichstein, was entombed in St. Vitus Cathedral at Prague.<sup>3</sup>

In his gift to Borgia of the Holy Thorn of Altbuntzlau, he has been seen to refer explicitly to their intimate friendship, exalting the piety of the parties concerned, and the preciousness of the relic conveyed, by representing the difficulty of the suit for it, on his part, and Borgia's. Three months after the gift of the Holy Thorn, Pernstein obtained for Borgia two skulls of Ursuline virgins from the Dominicans of the convent of

<sup>1</sup> Juan Manriquez de Lara, Chamberlain to Maximilian from 1562.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidl, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 248 *seqq.*, describes Pernstein as a man of learning, "instructissimus," and a friend to culture.

For these domains see Matthew Merian, *Bohemia, Moravia et Silesia* (1650). The last three places are close together.

<sup>3</sup> The male line of the Pernstein house died out with John, only son of Wratislaus, who fell, childless, at the battle of Reindorff. Maria de Manriquez, and her eldest daughter Polyxena, Princess Lobkovsky, continue to appear as patronesses of the Jesuits. The Jesuit *Annuaire Litteraire* for 1600, p. 454, records a gift at Prague from *Dominica Maria Manrique vidua senior de Pernstein*.



St. Mary at Budweiss.<sup>1</sup> This is shewn by deed No. 75. The text is :

Nos, Consul et Senatus civitatis Budicensis inclyto regno Bohemiæ sitæ,

Notum facimus tenore præsentium omnibus et singulis ad quoscunque hæ præsentibus nostræ patentes pervenerint, et quibus eas legere, vel, alio legente, audire contigerit, ad petitionem Illustrissimi Hispaniarum legati etc, necnon intercessionem Reverendissimi et Illustrissimi domini, Domini Antonii, Archiepiscopi Pragensis etc, ac Illustris at Magnifici domini, Domini Wratislausi à Pernestan, supremi Regni Bohemiæ cancellarii etc, cum consensu capituli ordinis prædicatorum super ea re solenniter habito, ac in præsentia supremi per Bohemiam ejus ordinis Prioris, habitantis in urbe Pragensi ad Divam Agnetem, Concessisse nos, et donasse Illustrissimo Hispaniarum Legato, duo capita sanctarum virginum ac martyrum e societate Divarum Ursulæ et Cordulæ virginum, quæ a majoribus nostris reverenter sunt habita et asservata ad nostra usque tempora in monasterio nostro, quod serenissimus et potentissimus Rex Bohemiæ, in ordine Quintus, Ottogarus, ejus nomine Secundus, fundaverat et dotaverat.

In quorum fidem et testimonium hasce literas sigillo nostræ Civitatis munivimus, quæ datæ sunt Buduicii anno salutis humanæ Millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo, die mensis Januarii xv, qua ante annos CCCL, Ottogarus I Rex Bohemiæ diem suum obiit, ac in arce Pragensi, in templo Divi Viti, regiâ pompâ sepultus est.

L.S.

The Archbishop in question is Anton Brus,<sup>2</sup> who held the metropolitan see of Prague from 1561 to 1580, was at the Council of Trent, and by his advocacy of the Utraquist cause,

<sup>1</sup> The Dominican church of Our Lady at Budweiss had, in the past, been of considerable dignity. T. Ripoll, *Bullarium Ordinis Prædicatorum* (1729), cites indulgences granted to the church in 1401 and 1494 (Tom. II., p. 410 and Tom. IV., pp. 106-7).

<sup>2</sup> See Anton Frind, *Geschichte der Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Prag* (1873), pp. 182-189. Brus was born in 1518, and his career as a priest was in the military Order of Crusaders of the Red Star, and as a military chaplain with the forces against the Turks. He was Master of the Order, 1558, and Bishop of Vienna, which office he continued to hold in plurality after his election to Prague.

shewed himself on the side of conciliation. He was, however, a sound worker for the cause of Catholic revival in his diocese, in which lay Budweiss.<sup>1</sup>

If we must accept what our document says *au pied de la lettre*, we must believe that Borgia coveted two nameless Ursuline skulls which he heard to be preserved in a Dominican church at Budweiss, a market town on the upper Moldau, in the extreme south of Bohemia. To accomplish his end, he got the Archbishop of the diocese and the Chancellor of the kingdom to approach the Burgomaster and town council, to beg these relics for him. They acceded to the request, the Dominicans merely complying by a *pro forma* authorisation of the gift.

The passive part played by the friars is explicable. The Order was in a desperately weak condition, in Bohemia. It had suffered very severely from the Hussite movement. When, in 1555, Canisius and the first Jesuits came to Prague, they found in the Dominican convent of St. Clement, where they were lodged, no more than three friars.<sup>2</sup> And in fact Ferdinand I. proceeded to hand the convent over to the Jesuits, removing the friars to the convent of St. Agnes. This was a decayed convent of the Bohemian crusading Order of the Red Star,<sup>3</sup> with a ruinous cloister which Ferdinand now had put in order for the friars. And the vain hope was entertained that the former glory of the Order might return. This did not happen; and the fine phrases in our deed about the special chapter to authorise the gift do not represent anything very remarkable.

But the Budweiss convent was only one of a number of wrecks of what were formerly great religious houses. And the ecclesiastical authorities of the time, Archbishop Brus in particular, readily confiscated their property, without undue concern for the remnants of religious congregations that survived.

<sup>1</sup> Budweiss did not become a diocese until 1785.

<sup>2</sup> See J. N. Zimmermann, *Diplomatische Geschichte der Klöster in Prag* (1837), pp. 87-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacra Militum Ordo cum rubea stella*, a national order given the distinction of the red star by Papal brief of 1251.

If the Archbishop wanted these two skulls, it is incredible that he should have needed to ask the town council for them.

Neither is the *intercessio* of the Chancellor much easier to understand. It is not as though he had local standing with the townsfolk of Budweiss. His property all lay away to the east of Bohemia, and in Moravia. Moreover, despite the attempts of authority to control the removal of the relics of the company of St. Ursula from Cologne, there were skulls of these virgin martyrs all over the German lands. And in fact the *Capella Pernsteiniana* in the cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague possessed a number of them, as appears in Simeon Kapihinsky's account of the Calvinist pillage of the Prague churches in 1620, cited in *Acta Sanctorum*, September 28, under St. Wenceslaus. It is not credible that to get his friend two Ursuline skulls he was forced to beg them from the town council of Budweiss. The alternative seems to be that Brus and Pernstein *wanted* to make suit to the town of Budweiss for the relics. It involved the municipality in a public act of Catholic piety. On the other hand, no concern at all is shewn for the rights of the friars. In short, what lies behind our deed is some piece of Catholic manoeuvring, in which Borgia supplies merely the occasion.

Another Bohemian with whom Borgia came in contact was Friedrich von Zierotin, Rudolph's leading general.<sup>1</sup> The Zierotins were one of the most important Czech families of the kingdom, and at this time was represented on the Royal Council of Bohemia by no less than eighteen members.<sup>2</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> The outline of Zierotin's career is given in A. Pilarz and F. Moravetz, *op. cit.*, Pt. III., pp. 49, 53-6, and 61. His military distinction was chiefly as an engineer. He constructed fortresses, of which the most famous was that of Neuhaüsel, which secured the Moravian-Hungarian frontier against the fear of Turkish raids.

<sup>2</sup> The closest authority, both for the family and for the details of the contemporary history, is the *Speculum Marchionatus Moraviæ* (Olmütz, 1593), of Bartholomew Paprocious, a Polish friend and protégé of Bishop Pavlovski. I have not seen it. See J. Schmidl, *op. cit.*, Pt. II., p. 172.

Some account of the family may be found in the *Universal Lexicon* (Halle, 1738), *sub nomine*, and in the opening chapters of Peter von Chlumecky, *Carl von Zierotin und seine Zeit* (Brünn, 1862). Also Johannes Sinapius, *Schlessischer Curiositäten* (1720-1728), Tom. II., p. 289.

were, however, Hussite to a man, and boasted that, since the days of the reformer, no single Zierotin had been a Catholic. They were strong enough to hold their own about a court that was Catholic, working and associating with Catholic officers of state and courtiers, without losing their religious independence. Friedrich, Baron Seelowitz<sup>1</sup> and Pausdrzany, was brought up "a teneris in aula Cæsarum Caroli V., Ferdinandi, et Maximiliani."<sup>2</sup> He thus learned to live agreeably among Catholics, and maintain his religious liberty rather upon a latitudinarian basis. He was a man of learning, "artibus tam litterariis, tam militaribus assatim instructus." He had a distinguished public career, in a number of military and diplomatic capacities, of which perhaps the most notable was the negotiation of the Polish succession in 1587, on behalf of the Empire and Archduke Maximilian.<sup>3</sup> He became Vice-Margrave of Bohemia and Count of Brünn, and died in 1598.<sup>4</sup> From him Borgia obtained a Holy Thorn, as appears in our deed No. 63.

This takes the form of a certificate under the hand and college seal of Father John Paul Campanus, Rector of the Jesuit college at Brünn.

The certificate is, in fact, a narrative, in which Campanus relates that on the request of "Dominus Joannes a Borgia, ex ducibus Gandiæ," he went, in company with the Bishop of Olmütz, to the house of the "Magnificus Dominus, Dominus

<sup>1</sup> Zierotin obtained the barony of Seelowitz by purchase not long before 1564. The whole domain had been bought by Chancellor Pernstein in 1560, with other property, and Seelowitz and surrounding parishes resold almost at once. Zierotin was the second purchaser. It was increased in 1581 by a grant of adjoining waste and woodland from Rudolph. See Gregor Wolny, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren* (Brünn, 1846), Bd. II., Abteil. 2, p. 417 (drawing on the *Codices Pernsteiniani*).

<sup>2</sup> Pilarz and Moravetz, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note.

<sup>3</sup> For this negotiation, ending in the accession of Sigismund III., and the withdrawal of Archduke Maximilian, see the contemporary *Ordinum regni Poloniæ legationes*, which includes Zierotin's official correspondence.

<sup>4</sup> For the maintenance of his friendly relations with members of the court at Prague we have the fact that in 1588 his cousin Carl went to Prague with introductions from him to Adam von Dietrichstein, and frequented the salon of Maria Manriquez de Lara, the gathering-place of the Spanish party (Chlumecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-9).

Fredericus à Geraten, Liber Baro Moraviæ in Selovitz ”; and that there the baron took them into his “museum,” and extracted “e quadam arcsula perpulchre fabricata, claveque reserata” a little bundle, “reliquias quasdam, in nodum serici mediocris involutas.” When the wrapping was undone, the relic proved to be a piece of Holy Thorn. The baron said that it was authenticated by a certificate of Bishop Prothasius of Olmütz, but that he was unable to shew them the document, as he had lent it to a friend. Campanus describes the relic as “pars aliquanta, in quatuor partes divisa (a twist of four twigs ?), summitatem quidem ad longitudinem unius digiti minimi habens (with a loop nearly as long as one’s little finger standing on the twist ?), versus summitatem spinam integram latum digiti longam” (and a perfect spine, near the top of the loop, as long as one’s finger is broad).

The certificate is dated April 12, 1581, too late to be covered by a Malaspina deed. And the only Holy Thorn certified by Malaspina has been identified as that which Pernstein got from the Canons of Altbuntzlau. This was, in fact, the only thorn that figured in the “Recebimento.” And we shall see later that Borgia kept back this Seelowitz thorn, and gave it as a separate gift to São Roque in 1594.

Our deed throws an interesting light on Zierotin’s character.<sup>1</sup> We see a man who, soldier and statesman as he is, has time and taste to make a “museum” at his castle. His antiquarian interests are excited by a century-old deed, and he lends it to a like-minded friend. This may have been simply because the deed was unique of its kind in his experience, but more probably it contained something of historical interest. It may, for example, have pointed back through Charles IV. to the Crown in the Sainte Chapelle. In that event, it is our misfortune that it was abroad on this particular day.

It is interesting that Zierotin should have been among those who wished to give the departing Spanish ambassador a present of the kind he liked so much. Not less interesting is

<sup>1</sup> See excellent footnote on p. 30 of P. von Chlumecky’s edn. of Georg Ludwig’s *Chronik von Brünn*, in Christian d’Elvert’s *Mährische Chroniken*. (Brünn, 1861.)

his behaviour on the occasion recorded in our deed. Borgia's purpose in commissioning two such representatives as the Bishop of Olmütz and the Rector of Brünn to go to the baron's house for the relic was clearly to make the reception of the relic as ceremonious as possible, and emphasise its august and sacred character. Zierotin received the envoys with urbanity, but maintained an informal character in the transaction that successfully ignored the point of the deputation. The situation loses nothing of its piquancy when we recall Zierotin's skirmish with the bishop two years later, when he took Esrom Rüdiger,<sup>1</sup> head of the Eybenschütz academy for sons of the non-Catholic nobles, out of the Bishop's hands, although he was the Bishop's lawful prisoner under the censorship laws.

Zierotin was a man of rare quality in his times. Wide interests and culture lifted him above the party spirit that dominated his neighbours, and enabled him to maintain sympathy with genuine men in the opposing camp. He gave the protection of the law to Catholics who were the victims of

<sup>1</sup> See *sub nomine* in J. J. Herzog and A. Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. The primary authorities for this history are very inaccessible, to the English reader. Born at Bamberg in 1523, he became Professor of Philosophy at Wittenberg, and then in 1575 accepted the invitation of the Bohemian and Moravian "Utraquist" nobles to become the Rector of an academy for their sons at Eybenschütz or Evanzig (Evaniczicz), 12 miles S.W. of Brünn, and a very little distance from Seelowitz. An imperial order to close the school was issued in 1578, and was disregarded. But on January 22, 1583, an order for the arrest of Rüdiger was signed, and served on Johann von Lippa, in whose domain the school lay, to hand him over to the Bishop of Olmütz. See A. Gindely, *Geschichte der Böhmisches Brüder* (1868), Bd. II., pp. 271-6. Rüdiger had made himself liable under canon law, by the publication, in 1581, of his very fine and deeply learned paraphrase of the psalms (*ludo literario Fratrum Boemicorum Evanzizii in Moravia*), representing a central part of the curriculum as instituted by him. Carl von Zierotin, Friedrich's more famous cousin, was a pupil. Rüdiger was allowed to escape to Baron Friedrich at Seelowitz, when the pursuit was abandoned. Here he remained till 1588, when he went to a sister at Nürnberg, in whose house he died in 1590.

The character of the Bohemian Brotherhood, or *Unitas Fratrum*, at this time is distinguished for its advanced humanistic culture. It was still rooted in the Utraquist tradition, and the influence of the Lutheran reform was not yet predominant. For Rüdiger's letters, see A. Gindely, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Böhmisches Brüder in Fontes Rerum Austriacarum* (Vienna, 1859).

Protestant attack, although himself a member of the *Unitas Fratrum*.<sup>1</sup> Particularly the Jesuit College in Brünn had to thank him for such aid in the early days of its work, when it was a mark for active molestation from the Protestants. His relations with the Jesuit Fathers were most amicable. They lent him historical works and were repaid with fish from the Seelowitz waters.<sup>2</sup> For the last four years of his life, as Captain-general of Moravia, he worked as close colleague of the Bishop in the government of the margraviate.<sup>3</sup> It thus appears that the episode recorded in our deed portrays the man with great fidelity.

We notice that he did not say how he had come by the relic. Bishop Protasius of Czrnahora<sup>4</sup> bore office from 1458 to 1482. This is too late for us to suppose that the certificate which he drew up accompanied a gift of the relic to a Zierotin. The Baron must have obtained it from Protestant hands, probably as loot from some monastic house.<sup>5</sup> The *arcsula perpulchre fabricata* will have saved the relic, being an object of art which possessed value to anyone who, like Zierotin, liked nice things.

<sup>1</sup> Represented to-day by the "Moravian church."

<sup>2</sup> J. Schmidl, *op. cit.*, Pt. II., pp. 46, 47, 55, 107, 126, 172.

<sup>3</sup> Until this time, the Bishop of Olmütz and the court had been able to avoid the appointment of any non-Catholic noble as Landeshauptmann. But in 1594 Zierotin's position was such as to make it impossible to set anyone else in the office. Moreover, he was not a man to make party advantage of it. But his appointment opened the way to Carl von Zierotin's public career (Chlumecky, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

<sup>4</sup> For Bishop Protasius, see Pilarz and Moravetz, *op. cit.*, Tom. II., pp. 60, 71, 177 and *passim*. Aubertus Miræus, *op. cit.*, p. 70. J. Dubravius, *Historia Bohemica* (Frankfurt ed., 1687), p. 878. F. X. Richter, *Episcopi Olomucienses* (1831), *sub nomine*.

Protasius was of the Boscovitz family, a leading Bohemian noble stock, and kinsman to King George Podiebrad. After an attempt to conciliate the Utraquists, he deserted the cause of King George and espoused that of King Matthias, in 1467. (Gregor Wolny, *op. cit.*, Bd. V., p. 115.) In the same year he ordered the burning of Jacob Chulavam (G. C. Rieger, *Alte und neue Böhmishe Brüder*, sect. xxi., 1739, p. 33). And from thenceforward he maintained a firm anti-Utraquist attitude. A letter of Protasius to the Magistrates of Iglau, announcing Landtag for 1469 in Matthias' name, may be found in P. von Chlumecky, *Die Regesten im Markgrafthume Mähren* (Brünn, 1856), Iglauer Stadtarchiv, letter 191 (p. 34).

<sup>5</sup> The Cistercian house of *Spinea Corona*, at Crumlov, sacked by the Hussites in 1420, suggests itself.

Once in his hands, though just a curiosity, the relic was safe from destruction. And we may even credit him with desiring an occasion to replace it in Catholic hands.

In 1581 the Bishop of Olmütz was Stanislas Pavlovski, also a man of character out of the ordinary, but curiously contrasted with Zierotin's.<sup>1</sup> He came of equestrian stock in Polish Silesia, was educated at the German College in Rome, held various offices at Olmütz and Brünn, and became bishop in 1578. He was a man of boundless energy devoted to one single purpose, the restored supremacy of the Roman Church and faith. And he was clear-sighted and direct in his practical seeking of that end. He would not suffer ecclesiastical climbers or drones in his diocese. At the same time he made the fullest use of temporal power to get the better of Protestantism, politically. Church and Empire, to his mind, stood together, and he succeeded in impressing Rudolph very favourably. In 1587, as representative of Bohemia at the coronation of Sigismund III. of Poland, his energy and directness succeeded better than diplomatic subtlety.<sup>2</sup> And finally he gained the elevation of his see to the dignity of dukedom and principate in the empire.<sup>3</sup>

His relations with the Jesuits were, from the first, most cordial and intimate. They speak of him as *discipulus*

<sup>1</sup> Chlumecky, *Carl von Zierotin*, pp. 112-116, gives an admirable character sketch of Pavlovski, drawing his material largely from documents and letters in the Kremsier Landarchiv. He must have been personally fearless and tireless. He led the Corpus Christi processions in Olmütz and Brünn at times of strong Protestant reaction. And he took a vigorous personal part in the recatholicising mission at Nikolsburg. And see Pilarz and Moravetz, *op. cit.*, Pt. III., pp. 527-532.

<sup>2</sup> See Eduard von Mayer, *Des Olmützer Bischöfes S. Pawlowski Gesandtschaftsreise nach Polen* (Vienna, 1861), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> This was really a restoration. Cardinal von Dietrichstein, his successor, revived the activity of the bishop's mint. See Eduard von Mayer, *Des fürstlichen Hochstiftes Olmütz Münzen und Medailen, nach der zu Kremsier befindlichen Sammlung* (Vienna, 1873), pp. 3 and 169. The collection contains no coins of Pavlovski. But there is a gold portrait medal at Florence, shewing the bishop in profile, wearing full beard, and close-cropped hair, while on the reverse is the motto DEVICTO MVNDO SEQVITVR IWENTVS RENOVATA, and the date 1585. And a silver-gilt medal in the possession of Count Czapski, at St. Petersburg, had the portraits of Pavlovski and Maximilian II. on either side.



*noster*. While a Canon of Brünn, he suffered with them the animosity of the Protestants, to the extent of being for a while, with them, driven from the town. Later he was their considerable benefactor, in 1588 dissolving the nunnery of Pustomir as moribund, and making over 500 fl. of revenue to the Society.<sup>1</sup> He had, in the previous year, taken the Rector of the Olmütz college, Father Willerius, as his companion for his Polish embassy.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Pavlovski was, in short, one of the most typical fighting leaders of the Catholic restoration in the German states. He was followed by Francis von Dietrichstein, Adam's third son and a Cardinal.

Campanus was an Italian (as his spelling of the baron's name reveals) who came from the Roman college to be novice-master at Prague in 1570.<sup>3</sup> After three years, the novitiate was moved to Brünn, but Campanus returned to Prague in 1575 to be Rector. (Chancellor Pernstein sent his own coach to convey him.) Thus his residence in Prague coincided with that of Borgia. In 1580 he went back to Brünn as Rector and so was able to fulfil Borgia's commission, Seelowitz being about ten miles south of Brünn. (Both places lay in the diocese of Olmütz.) But within a week or so of the date of our deed, he was replaced at Brünn, and went to join Father Possevinus in his mission to Poland and Moscow. In 1582 he established the college at Lüben, and next year became Provincial of Poland. He became Provincial of Germany in 1591, and died in 1593.<sup>4</sup>

We have seen von Dietrichstein in touch with the court of the kingdom of Hungary at Pozsony. It seems that Borgia had direct contacts with it also. Members of the court at Prague attended the Emperor to diet at Pozsony from time

<sup>1</sup> Gregor Wolny, *op. cit.*, Bd. V., p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> B. Duhr, *Die Jesuiten an den deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, p. 37, cites the original MS. *instructio pro P. Bartholomæ Willerio in Polonium misso*. This shows that the purpose of his mission was to act as confidential counsellor and keeper of the Bishop's conscience during the negotiations.

<sup>3</sup> For Campanus, see A. Socherus, *Historia Provinciæ Austriæ, S.J.* (Vienna, 1740), pp. 120, 188 and following. Also Schmidl, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> For his later career, see the *Historia Societatis*, Pt. V., Tom. I. (F. Sacchini, 1661), pp. 24, 25, 180-184, 281, 282, 514 and 515.

to time, while royal officers from Hungary were no doubt frequently engaged in visits to Prague. By these means, Borgia evidently became friendly with the Viceroy of Hungary, who made him a gift of a relic in 1578. The deed No. 60, testifying this,<sup>1</sup> reads as follows:

Nos, Stephanus Radecius, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia episcopus ecclesiæ Agriensis, ac Perpetuus Comes comitatus Hewesiensis, necnon sacratissimi principis et domini, Domini Rudolphi secundi, Dei gratia . . . etc . . . necnon Consiliarius, ac per Regnum Hungariæ Locumtenens etc.

<sup>1</sup> The authentications given with relics of St. John Eleemosynary from Pozsony seem to have been regarded as notable, for the text of three at least have been published. The first, given by Nicolaus Schmitth in *Episcopi Agrienses* (Tyrnau, 1768), Tom III., p. 126, went with the gift of the index finger of the left hand to Father Lorenzo Maggio, of the Vienna College, February 23, 1580. It is from Radecius, and almost identical in form with deed No. 60. Another, referring to the same donation, runs:

Nos, Balthasar Melegh, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Chanadiensis, locique ejusdem Comes Perpetuus, ecclesiarum Lelesziensis et Agriensis Præpositus major, et Consiliarius S.C. Reg. maj. etc. Memoria commendamus tenore præsentium significantes, quibus expedit universis; quod nos præsentem in templo summo et capitulari in civitate regia Poseniensi, in honorem B. Martini Episcopi et Confessoris fundato, vocati et admissi per Dominos ejusdem loci præposituræ ordinarium, per manus nostras proprias, invocata Spiritus S. gratia, e corpore reliquisque S. Joannis Eleemosynarii, unum digitum manus sinistræ devote amovimus, ac ad manus Rdi in Christo P. et D. Laurentii Magii, S.J. Th. et Rectoris Viennensis assignavimus, harum nostrarum vigore et testimonio literarum, sigillique, ac manus nostræ subscriptione mediante. Actum Posonii, in diæta publica regnicolarum, die xxiv. mensis Feb. anno vero Salutis MDLXXX. Idem Chanadiens. Episc.

Another, given in *Acta Sanctorum*, January 23, was from Father Nicolaus Jagnietovius, Præpositus of the Professed house at Vienna, conveying skin of the finger mentioned above, to a friend of Father Florence Montmorency. The deed runs:

Omnibus in quorum manus hæ litteræ devenerint, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Cum frustum quoddam ex pelle digiti S. Joannis Eleemosynarii, quem Augustissimus Imperator Matthias, Posonio, ubi integrum corpus ejus asservatur, desumi curavit, et reliquit huic domui Professæ, ad instantiam R.P. Florentii Montmorencii, S.J. per Austriam Visitatoris, dederimus admodum Reverendo Domino Antonio de Winghe, abbati Letiensi; ut omnibus id constaret, et ne hujusmodi sacræ reliquiæ debito honore fraudarentur, fidem de præmissis his litteris manu nostra suscriptis, et sigillo nostro munitis, facimus, Viennæ in Austria, 24 Septemb. Anno 1631.

The Bollandists quote this text from a letter.

Universis et singulis . . . salutem in salutis largitore. Quia actiones quas mundus ordinat sæpe delet temporum successus, infirmantur beneficio literarum !

Quapropter, ad universorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire. Nos, ex pietate nostra Christiana, beneque merendi studio, et observantia erga illustrissimum et Magnificum dominum Joannem de Borjia, Serenissimi Hyspaniarum . . . etc . . . Oratorem; si quidem suam Illustrissimam et Magnificam dominationem acerrimum fidei catholicæ defensorem et cultorem agnovimus, eidem, primum in honorem Dei Omnipotentis et Ejus sanctorum, tum in signum nostræ erga se amicitiae et observantiae, partem digiti Fidii sinistrae manus de corpore sanctissimi viri Joannis Aelemosinarii, episcopi Alexandrini dempti dedisse: quod corpus ex Asia per inclitum olim Andream Hierosolimitanum, Regem Hungariæ, Budam delatum, et diversis miraculis propter piorum fidem illustratum, ac multis jam membris propter eorum studium mutilatum, in Collegiata ecclesia nostra Posoniensi, in sacrario divi Martini episcopi et confessoris conquiescit, sperantes quod sua illustrissima dominatio harum sanctarum reliquiarum non minorem curam in ornatu quam cultu, pro fide sua catholica et nostro erga se amore habitura sit.

Quod ita esse chirographi et sigilli nostri fide et auctoritate testatum esse volumus. Datum Posonii vigesima octava die Mensis Martii anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo octavo.

STEPHANUS RADECIUS, *eps*  
*Agrien. et Locumten. regni*

L. S. JOANNES ZABRISKY.

Radecius has signed, and Zabrisky is the writer of the deed. The stylistic similarity of this deed to that of Abbess Helen is to be noticed. The concluding formula, and manner of signing and sealing are identical.

The donor of the relic, Stephen Radecz or Radeczky<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Radeczky, see Schmitth, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-36. Also I. A. Fessler and E. Klein, *Geschichte von Ungarn* (Leipzig, 1877), Tom. IV., p. 9, and G. Pray, *Specimen Hierarchiæ Hungariæ* (1776 and 1779), Pt. II., pp. 189, 453.

For the general political circumstances, see Nicolas Isthvanyfy, *Historia Regni Hungariæ* (1662, Cologne revised editions, 1685 and

("Cibiensis," *i.e.*, deriving from Czeben or Hermannstadt), was the successor, both in the see of Agria (Erlau, Eger) and in the office of Viceroy of Hungary, of the more famous Anton Wrancz (Verantius). The latter held the see of Erlau, 1557-1569, and became Archbishop of Gran. Radeckzy was translated from Gross Wardein (Nagy Varad).<sup>1</sup>

The truce of Adrianople in 1568 established a state of quiet which lasted till 1593, in which year he died. It was a peace little honourable for the empire. The Turks had driven a wedge into the kingdom of Hungary which ran up to the north centre.<sup>2</sup> The north-west sector remained a kingdom of Hungary under the imperial Crown. Transylvania, under Zapolya, maintained an independence of the empire that depended in turn on alliance with the Sultan. Rudolph took very little care of Hungarian interests, and the business of the imperial kingdom was carried on by ministers drawn largely from among the ecclesiastics,<sup>3</sup> and certain nobles who, in spite of all discontents and humiliations, were willing to take office. An Italian manuscript account of imperial government at this time is contained in the MS. *Nouveau Fonds Latin*, 13081, of

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1758), *passim*, Istvan Katona, *Historia Pragmatica Hungariæ*, Pt. II. (1784), especially pp. 590-595 and 631.

Radeckzy invited the Jesuits to commence work in Erlau in 1578.

<sup>1</sup> He had not, however, been in effective possession of Gross Wardein, because Papal confirmation had not been received.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish victory of Mohacs in 1526 led up to the capture of Buda in 1541, and Turkish aggression continued until the truce of Adrianople, 1568, stabilised the threefold division of the old kingdom. Four years later, while Maximilian was still living, Rudolph became King of Hungary. In 1582, the Estates refused to vote subsidies until their grievances were righted. Radeckzy, and George Draskovitz, Archbishop of Colocsa, went sureties for the Emperor's good faith, thus obtaining two years' payment of subsidies. Rudolph then handed over the kingdom to the Archduke Ernest. (Isthvanffy, *op. cit.* pp. 341-2). Isthvanffy, who knew Radeckzy personally, describes him as "vir bonarum literarum peritia, pariter et legum scientia, insignis." His record bespeaks, not a strong or very able man, but a loyal and conscientious subordinate. The anonymous *Palatini Regni Hungarii*, published by the Tynau Jesuit College in 1760, in the account of Radeckzy, says: "A primis pueritiæ annis omni literatura, maxime Pqetica, institutus, post Nicholaum Istvanffium Olaho in deliciis fuit."

<sup>3</sup> Radeckzy, as *Locum tenens regni*, received 2,500 florins, while his bishopric of Erlau brought him 3,200.

the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The writer says that "li Ungari sono quasi tutti o lutherani o anabatisti o heretici di varie sette, e particolarmente li Baroni." Thus the pro-imperial and pro-Catholic interests were thrown together in the task of carrying on the constitutional government in the face of a nobility estranged from both Crown and Church.

Radeczky had his apprenticeship in office as *Præfectus ærarii*, or Chancellor of the Exchequer.<sup>1</sup> And on the death of Wrancz in 1573 he was made Viceroy (*Locumtenens regni*). This office he held till 1586.

During his lifetime, Erlau was in Christian hands. It had been gallantly defended in 1552. He did not, however, reside there, but in the *Præpositura* (Deanery) of the *Collegiata* at Pozsony.<sup>2</sup> This town, which had not previously had great ecclesiastical importance, now gained it, by being the capital of the diminished kingdom; though it was not till long afterwards that it became an archbishopric.

The history of the relics of St. John Eleemosynary is discussed in *Acta Sanctorum*, January 23. The body was, in the Middle Ages, reputed to be at Constantinople, though the circumstances of its coming to the capital are not recorded. Thence it came first to Buda and thence to Pozsony. This is recorded quite convincingly in a sermon<sup>3</sup> of the Minorite Pelbart de Temesvar (in Hungary, 150 miles south-east of Buda) preached some time before 1520 (the date when it was printed in Alsace) before the Turkish conquests had obscured tradition as to such matters. His plain statement is that Matthias Corvinus received the body of the Saint for a price from a contemporary sultan. Such a thing would have been likely to take place in the latter part of this king's reign, and so be not much earlier than 1490, within Pelbart's own life-

<sup>1</sup> N. Isthvany, *op. cit.*, 1685 edn., p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Pozsony was not, as de Campos assumes, in the episcopal jurisdiction of Radeczky as bishop of Erlau. He held the deanery of the *Collegiata* in plurality. At this period it was apt to be held by prelates, as the position of Pozsony, resting on the Austrian frontier, made it a peculiarly desirable possession.

<sup>3</sup> Sermon cxxiv., on St. John Eleemosynary, in the collection entitled *Pomerium sermonum de Sanctis*, printed at Hagenau, in Alsace, 1520.

time. Surius records, under *February* 23, that, presumably at a recent date when he was writing, somewhat earlier than the time of our deed, Abraham, Archbishop of Achrida, had come to Pozsony to venerate the sacred body, and said that he had it on the testimony of the Great Logothete of Constantinople, a nonagenarian, that the body had been given as a gift to the King of Hungary. That this should be recorded shews that the fact had dropped out of knowledge at Pozsony, and this in spite of Pelbart and his printed sermon. It was not, perhaps, the sort of thing that Hungarians wished to remember. Our deed shews that they contrived quickly to forget it again, in favour of the much more romantic tale of the Hungarian crusaders bringing the relic back with them as booty from the East.

The King Andrew in question is the spendthrift, good-natured Andrew II., "King All-right," induced, in 1217, by Honorius III., to lead a futile crusading enterprise, from which he returned the next year, by way of Iconium and Constantinople. The *Hierosolimitani* are the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, or Hospitallers, who were very strong in Hungary. The original *Xenodocium* in Jerusalem, from which the great Order sprang, was dedicated, not to the Evangelist, but to the Eleemosynary. Hence the special interest, for Hungarians, in the possession of this particular Saint.

When the sixteenth century commenced, the body of the Saint lay in Buda, "in capella regia in castro," says Pelbart. And he adds, "corpus usque modo stat incorruptum, quod Cæsar Turcorum misit, pro munere, ex Constantinopoli, Hungariæ regi Matthiæ; et nunc reverenter tenetur in capella regia in castro Budensi, ubi ad ejus invocationis crebra corruscant miracula." But when the Turkish victory of Mohacs in 1526 put Buda in peril, the precious relic was carried north for safety, and lodged in the abbey of Toll, near Pozsony. Thence, in 1530, Ferdinand had it moved to the collegiate church of St. Martin in Pozsony. Cardinal Pazmany in the seventeenth century built it a chapel in the north aisle of what

is now the cathedral, where it is still venerated. Bishop Drascovitz of Fünfkirchen in 1632 left an account of the state of mutilation in which he found it when he was Dean of the *Collegiata*. It was chiefly by the pulling away of skin and tissue. The removal of whole bones must have only been begun at the time of our deed. We must judge it therefore to have been a very special favour that prompted this gift of a finger-joint to Borgia.

He was, however, to receive yet another finger-bone of this same Saint; and to this our deed No. 47 testifies. It, also, is drawn by *Stephanus Radetius, ep. Agriensis, Perpetuus Comes comitatus Hewesiensis* and Imperial Councillor, and certifies the donation of a finger of the left hand of the Saint, whose body used to be in the chapel of the royal castle at Buda, but has since been brought "huc Posonium," to *Dominus Banffius Traustius (?) Comes, Præfectus Stabuli* to the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> The date is 1581, and Radecky subscribes *Ep. Agriensis, Præpositus Posoniensis*. The deed is on paper, not parchment, and less formal than deed No. 60.

<sup>1</sup> For Count Banffy, see Ivan Nagy, *Magyarországy családai* (Families of Hungary), Tom. I. (Pesth, 1857), pp. 157-8. Carolus Wagner, *Collectanea genealogico-historica Hungariæ familiarum*, Decas I (1778), is built on the earlier work of Peter de Warda, Bishop of Colocsa. It gives the history of members of the family in order of descent. The history of our Count is on p. 15. He was the fourth Count Ladislaus in the Hahold line. His mother was the daughter of Blasius de Raska. He himself married three times and had two sons, Paul II., who fell in battle against the Turks, and John VI., who died on attaining his majority, in 1595. The succession thus passed to the other branch of the line, which in turn died out with Count Christopher in 1646.

Brief accounts of the Banffy family are to be found in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopædia*, and in the *Halle Universal Lexicon* (1734), *sub nomine*. See also a note on p. 565 of Stephen Schoenvisner's *Notitia Hungariæ rei Numariæ* (1801).

Peter Apor, *Lusus mundi* (1727), a history of the author's own family, and those connected with it by marriage, contains a great deal of information on the Banffys. (In *Monumenta Hungariæ Historica*, Tom. XI., 1863.)

A good deal is to be got from the general histories, Isthvanffy, Fessler and Klein, Peter de Rewa and Francis de Nadasd, *De Monarchia Hungariæ* (Frankfurt, 1659), Bonbardi and Trsztyanski, *op. cit.*, Ferrari, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 58-62, 153, 543, Ch. du Fresne du Cange, *Illyricum vetus et novum* (Pozsony, 1746), pp. 181, 186, 228.

The recipient of the relic and its presumptive donor to Borgia is Count Ladislaus Banffy, of the Hahold line of Banffys, whose seat was the castle of Also-lindva<sup>1</sup> (Unter Limbach), south-west of Lake Balaton and close to Warasdin (Varus) and the Styrian frontier. He is usually called *Comes Lindvensis*, from the family seat, or *Comes Zaladiensis*, from the *Comitatus*.<sup>2</sup>

He was born shortly after the battle of Mohacs. And whether or not he was the eldest or only son of Count Francis Banffy and Helena Raskai his wife, he was his father's successor. His name begins to appear in public documents in 1542 and 1543, the first occasion being that of the welcome given to Maximilian and Maria on their arrival from Spain. He figured in this among the *lectissima adolescentium Ungarorum turma* that gathered to do honour to the young prince and princess. He fought against the Turks at the battle of Babocsa in 1553.<sup>3</sup> In 1556 he became High Door-keeper for Croatia in the royal castle of Warasdin<sup>4</sup> (a dignity which he held until 1574). In the following year he is mentioned in the visitation-records of Nicholas Olahus, Archbishop of Gran, as patron of the Deanery of Uybel.<sup>5</sup> In 1560 he was negotiator of an armistice between the empire and Zapolya.<sup>6</sup> He bore the standard of Croatia at the coronation of Maximilian as

See also Ferdo Sisic, *Acta Comitatala regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, and E. Laszowski, *Monumenta Hapsburgica regni Croatiae* (*Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. xxxix, 1916, pp. 49, 390, 404, 465; vol xl., 1917, pp. 286, 288, 299, 497), and the anonymous *Tripartitum opus Decretorum regni Hungariae* (1682).

<sup>1</sup> Built by Stephen Banffy, Ban of Slavonia, in 1290 (*Universal Lexicon*, s.n. Banffy).

<sup>2</sup> The domains of the Also-lindva family must have been very extensive. It was in two branches in Ladislaus' time, the heir of the other branch being Count Stephen, a little his senior. In 1543, they had to be exhorted to divide the "arces" of the Banffy inheritance peaceably between them (Laszowski, *op. cit.*, p. 497).

<sup>3</sup> Nagy, *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Nagy, *l.c.* and Wagner, *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Carolus Peterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Hungariae*, Pt. II., p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> G. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe* (1895), Bd. III., p. 150, note 1, quoting the *Weiner Staatarchiv, Hungarica*, for 1560.



King of Hungary in 1563.<sup>1</sup> But his affairs must have been adversely affected by the Turkish raid of 1568, which penetrated into the county of Zalad.<sup>2</sup> He appears, however, at the coronation of Rudolph as King of Hungary in 1572, and his name is frequent in the state papers of the next four years, in the discharge of judicature and other commissions of the Crown.<sup>3</sup> But after 1576 his name disappears. We may presume failing health. For at the Pozsony *Comitia* in 1583, Nicholas Isthvanyffy, the new *Propalatinus*, had to carry the sword of state before the Emperor, because Count Ladislaus Banffy, the *Præfectus Stabuli* to whom the duty pertained, "gravi oppressus morbo," was absent.<sup>4</sup> A deed of the same year mentions him, under the title of *Agaso* to the Emperor,<sup>5</sup> which is doubtless the same thing as *Præfectus Stabuli*. Ivan Nagy places his death in this year, and argues that Karl Wagner is wrong in giving the date 1586.<sup>6</sup>

Wagner is probably wrong also in his assertion that Banffy became *Præfectus Stabuli* in 1574. The Italian MS. account of the Court of Rudolph II. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,<sup>7</sup> already mentioned, sets against the office of *Grand Cavalliero* the entry "che è Monsignore il vescovo. . . ." And Banffy is not mentioned in this capacity in the public documents in which he appears in 1576. Now the statement in the Paris MS. that "Prince Wenceslas died last year in Spain "

<sup>1</sup> Isthvanyffy, *op. cit.* (1685), p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> This is not mentioned by Isthvanyffy, but is noted by the Venetian ambassador at Vienna (see Turba, *op. cit.*). In 1587, the Turks advanced right up to Also-lindva. See Theodore de Bry, *Pannoniæ Historia Chronologica* (1596), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> He was a boundary commissioner. The Turkish advance had left very little of the original state of Croatia, while a fugitive Croat population had moved north and west. In consequence of this, a portion of Western Hungary was thrown into Croatia, so that Also-lindva became nearly central to the province, or Banate, of Croatia.

<sup>4</sup> Isthvanyffy, *op. cit.* (1685), p. 360.

<sup>5</sup> Schmitth, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> Nagy, *l.c.* The ground of Wagner's mistake with regard to 1574 may be the fact noted by Lehotsky that by Art. 17 of that year's *Acta*, Ladislaus Banffy was named *Locumtenens Palatinalis*, which is the probable ground for his giving up the Janitorship in that year (*Stemmatographia*, p. 175).

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 105.

fixes its date of composition as 1579. And if the writer knew that the office was then held by one of the Hungarian bishops, our deed may be taken as fixing the appointment as 1580 or 1581.

The year of our deed was the year of the stormy *Comitia* at Pozsony, which Archduke Ernest presided over as deputy for the Emperor, and had to dissolve without getting his business through.<sup>1</sup> The Hungarian nobility were very sore and rebellious under the treatment accorded to them by the Hapsburgs, and very few were willing to be subservient holders of office in the kingdom. But Banffy was among these, and this will explain his promotion to a chief dignity in these last years of his life. The other title which Radeckzy uses in this deed is one that I could not read with any assurance.<sup>2</sup> But this is certain, that it is not the old title of his inheritance. He had received a new title of nobility. And we may conclude that Banffy, in his last years, was leaning on the imperial court, and so was brought into some kind of close and friendly relations with Borgia. The fact that he got his colleague Radeckzy to give him a relic from the Pozsony treasure in this year of Borgia's departure, and that the relic and certificate are at Lisbon, suggests that he proceeded in haste to give

<sup>1</sup> Isthvanffy, *op. cit.* (1685), p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> A possibility is "*Translius*," an abbreviation for *Transylvanus*. The Banffy family was one of the chief medieval families of Hungary, and had three main branches. Of these, one had its seat at Losoncz, near Erlau. Another gave its name to the County of Banffy-hunyad in Transylvania. At the break-up of Hungary in the sixteenth century, the two western branches sided with the empire, while the eastern branch sided with Zapolya. The leader of the latter was John Banffy, last Palatine of Hungary, and one of the knights who conveyed the body of St. John Eleemosynary from Buda to Toll. He signs state documents as *Joannes Banffius de Lyndwa Weronczensis*. This indicates a claim to the Also-lindva title as well as that of Veronce in East Croatia, maintained in the face of facts, in somewhat the same way as the English crown claim to the kingdom of France.

The Imperialist Banffys maintained similar claims on the eastern dignities of the family. Balthasar Banffy of Losoncz was named Woiwode of Siebenberg by Ferdinand I., and led an unsuccessful expedition against Zapolya in 1536.

Stephen Dobo, in 1560, bore the title of *Comes Transylvaniæ* (Schmitth, *op. cit.*, p. 133), and it is a possible suggestion that the title used by Radeckzy in addressing Ladislaus Banffy in our deed No. 47 is an honorific title of claim of this sort.

Borgia a present of the kind he would hold most appropriate. It is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Bishop had given an exactly similar relic to Borgia direct three years before. We can hardly suppose that Borgia had sought the gift from Banffy.

Banffy thus appears as loyal to the last degree to the imperial house, and earnestly Catholic. The political and religious issues could hardly be separated for a Hungarian noble of the time. And the Banffys of Also-lindva were traditionally devoted to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

A problem arises when we try to locate these finger-bones of St. John Eleemosynary in the "Recebimento" lists. The situation has already been touched upon.<sup>2</sup> There was on the fourth litter an arm-shaped reliquary of silver-gilt, adorned with the figure of a bishop. The hand was gloved, and the fingers in the position of those of a bishop in the act of blessing. Three crystals gave a view of the relics within. One on the fingers shewed a finger-bone with tissue adhering. One on the thumb exhibited a complete arm tendon. And one in the middle of the arm shewed an arm-bone with a tendon adhering. There are two difficulties here. The first and greatest is that we have no mention in our deeds of an arm-bone, and it is difficult to know how such a relic could have come to Borgia unauthenticated.<sup>3</sup> And the second is that we are left with

<sup>1</sup> Peterffy, *op. cit.*, Pt. II., pp. 277-9, gives the following foundations of religious houses by the Banffys of Also-lindva.

By Count Michael, 1255, the Præmonstratensian abbey of Our Lady in the county of Zalad. By Count Arnold, 1248, a house of Franciscan conventuals at Szemenye. By ladies of the house, in 1234, the Dominican nunnery of St. Margaret de Hahold at Peleske. The house was also prominent in benefaction to the Vicariate of Hermits of St. Paul, at Garingy in Slavonia (*op. cit.*, p. 281). One Banffy had held the see of Erlau, and Buzzad Banffy, one of the early missionary Dominicans of Hungary who suffered martyrdom, was reckoned among the saints of the nation (Ferrari, *op. cit.*).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Drascovitz (see above, p. 84) notes the absence in 1632 of three arm-bones. "Brachium sinistrum avulsum est totum" and the upper bone of the right arm was missing. He knew one arm-bone to be in the possession of the Hermits of St. Paul at Wiener Neustadt. This leaves the bare possibility that Borgia received an arm-bone without certificate at some date between 1581 and 1588.

one of our certified relics still to account for. De Campos retails Radeczky's story that King Andrew brought the body of the Saint from Jerusalem to Buda, and asserts that Radeczky sent the relics contained in this reliquary. The point is thus settled that the relic seen through the first crystal is that of our deed No. 60. And Banffy's relic is not there. It seems that the relics taken off the body at Pozsony were not generally cut off, but pulled off. Consequently a finger might bring with it from the dried body a whole tendon. Let us suppose that this is what happened in the case of Radeczky's gift, and that Borgia in consequence had the arm reliquary made to exhibit the tendon as well as the finger-bone. As has been suggested above, there is a situation thus created that would allow the arm-bone of King Henry from Abbess Helena's gift, having lost its *schedula*, to be placed in the St. John arm reliquary. Malaspina's deed No. 14 shows that a King Henry *schedula* was in a compartment of the base of the silver Madonna and Child in the seventh litter, and de Campos' list shews that seven years later the relic in the same compartment was identifiable as that of St. John Eleemosynary. It may be suggested, therefore, that the thumb of the arm reliquary was empty till the King Henry arm-bone was put into the arm, when it was filled with the St. John tendon thus displaced; that Banffy's gift arrived enclosed in some kind of light envelope, but with its *schedula* adhering to it, and was housed in a compartment of the Madonna reliquary, where, on account of the *schedula* getting out of sight, it suffered re-identification as the relic of King Henry from which a *schedula* was astray. On such a hypothesis the relic of our deed No. 47 is accounted for, and the difficulty of the arm-bone of St. John Eleemosynary is removed.

In the "Descobrimento" inventory there appears a reliquary No. 36, a box covered with red silk and divided into compartments, and containing a relic of St. John Eleemosynary. It is behind the altar of Onze Mil Virgens. I did not ascertain which of our relics it contains.

That Borgia's influence should have extended into Hungary

like this is rather remarkable. But he and the Empress, his mistress, were naturally those to whom the much-harassed statesmen of Hungary would go to get pressure put on the Emperor, to make him do the necessary things. And they likewise must have been actively concerned about the unsatisfactory state of things in Hungary. From the time that Stephen Bathory became King of Poland, the union of Catholic states against the Turk was the first preoccupation of Catholic political workers. And for this a loyal and contented Hungary was a necessity.

This chapter may be concluded by some account of two Italian ecclesiastics who came to Prague as Nuncios, with whom our deeds shew Borgia to have been in close relationship. The first of these is Count Bartolomeo Portia, who was Nuncio in Lower Germany from 1576, the year of Borgia's arrival, until 1578, when he died in office. Just before his death he gave Borgia a skull of an Ursuline virgin. This is recorded in deed No. 48, which runs:

Bartholomeus, Comes Portiæ et Brugnariæ, Prothonotarius Apostolicus ac Sanctissimi Domini nostri Gregorii, divina Providentia Papæ XIII., ad Rudolphum II. in Romanorum Imperatorem electum, etc, etc, Nuntius, Illustrissimo viro ac domino, Domino Joanni Borgia, etc, etc.

He certifies that he has given Borgia—

Caput ex XI. MM. virginibus qui sub Divæ Ursulæ vexilla crudeli Hunnorum immanitate obtruncatæ fuerunt.

Confirmatory evidence may be seen in that this skull has “in suprema frontis parte quadratum sagittæ vulnus,” an excellent argument alike of the wickedness of the heathen and the constancy of the lady. “It had had immemorial cultus in the place from which I obtained it.”

The deed is dated at Vienna, June 9, 1578, and signed in full

Bartholomeus Comes Portiæ et Brugnariæ, Prothonotarius et Nuntius Apostolicus.

This skull with a hole in is very easily traced in the subsequent references. At the "Recebimento" it occupied the first place on the first litter.<sup>1</sup> Among our remaining deeds, all that refer to skulls of Ursuline virgins, together with one which does not specify the character of the relics it covers, are dated too late for it to be possible that they are the previous certifications of this relic. Information about it would seem to have died with Portia, who may have been actually on his death-bed when he signed this deed. He died on August 12, quite likely without ever seeing Borgia again, to tell more than he has written.

Count Portia<sup>2</sup> was the elder son of a noble, but not very wealthy, family of Friuli, which then formed the debatable land between the Republic of Venice, on the one hand, and the county of the Tyrol on the other. It was a country whose culture was mingled Italian and Germanic, and the sympathies of the inhabitants were divided. The house of Portia, both in the sixteenth century and later, was itself divided, some Imperialist, and some pro-Italian. Our Count Bartolomeo saw the hope of his branch in imperial service. They were neither rich nor powerful, and while the family history gave

<sup>1</sup> It is evident, too, in the "Descobrimento" inventory. Reliquary No. 3 is a cushion-shaped rest for a skull, and on it is "um craneo inteiro de uma das onze mil Virgens sem nome, o qual tem sobre a testa um pequeno buraco quadrado, que se diz ter sido feito pelo seta com que foi traspassada pelos Hunnos." (A whole skull of one of the eleven thousand virgins, unnamed, with a little square hole in her head, said to have been made by the arrow with which she was slain by the Huns.) Probably it is this skull that worked the cure reported by Crombach, *S. Ursula Vindicata*, p. 1141. "Olyssipone quidam ardentibus febribus jactatus, cranium sodalitatis Ursulanæ pie exosculatus, recepit sanitatem."

<sup>2</sup> For Portia, see *Die Sueddeutsche Nuntiatur des Grafen Bartolomeus von Portia*, Karl Schellhass, Abt. III., Bd. III. (1896), Bd. IV. (1903), and Bd. V. (1909) in *Nuntiatur-berichte aus Deutschland*. For the family see Prospero Antonini, *Friuli Orientale* (Milan, 1865), pp. 310, 324, 371, 408.

There is a summary of the family history in the *Almanac de Gotha*, 1836. See A. de Pellegrini, *I condottieri Porcia e Brugnera* (Venice, 1915), and V. Joppi, *Statuti dei Conti di Porcia* (Venice, 1915).

Conte Silvio di Porcia e Brugnera (1526-1603) was Colonello of Venice. The power of the family in the Middle Ages may be seen from the account in G. B. Crollanza, *Dizionario delle famiglie Italiane* (Pisa, 1886-98), s.n. Porcia.

something for a climber to start from, there was need of climbing. In the early Middle Ages they had been lords of Ceneda, and held castles of Porcia, Prato and Brugnara, whence still they carried the title of Porcia et Brugnara.<sup>1</sup> And their nobility still was enough to get Bartolomeo the abbacy of St. Gall de Moggio, at the mouth of the pass that runs through the Julian Alps to Klagenfurt.<sup>2</sup> With this preferment for a beginning, Bartolomeo gained his appointment as *Visitatore apostolico* in Friuli, and, from 1570 to 1572, was so active in stemming the flow of Lutheranism through the passes from the Tyrol that he was selected for work further afield. From 1573 to 1578 he was Nuncio, going first to Grätz to the court of Archduke Karl. He proceeded to draw his brother Girolamo after him, who became tutor, in 1575, to the young dukes Ernest and Wenceslaus, not with complete success. Another brother also was drawn into imperial service, but Alfonso and Ascanio, the remaining brothers, remained pro-Venetian.<sup>3</sup> In the upshot Bartolomeo was justified. In the early seventeenth century, Giovanni Sforza, Conte di Porcia, Captain of Gorizia for the Archduke, established the fortunes of his house to such effect that it gained the dignity of principedom of the empire, and gave its name to a regiment of the Austrian army. The record of Bartolomeo's nuntiature forms a solid piece of diplomatic history of the period.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes *Comes Partiliarum et Brugnaræ*. Till present times the Austrian princely house of Porcia have retained the style of Counts of Porcia and Brugnara.

<sup>2</sup> Portia was born in 1540, and educated at Padua and Bologna. He travelled in France, and was at Avignon in 1565. He resigned his abbacy in 1572. For his early career, see A. Battistella, *Mission del Conte B. di Porcia anteriore alla sua nunziatura di Germania* (Venice, 1907).

<sup>3</sup> Portia was careful not to burn his boats, in essaying this quest in Austria. This appears from a passage in a letter of the Venetian ambassador at Prague, Sigismondo Cavalli, written to the Doge on January 18, 1578 (in the letter file of Imperial Embassy letters from Cavalli, at the Archivio Centrale at Venice). Cavalli is writing from Vienna, whence Portia has just gone to Prague, and says that this move is very unwelcome to him personally, because "qui tornava ancor' bene, per giudicio mio, al servizio di V. Serenita, perche in tutte le cose l'ho conosciuto amator della sua patria, vero e fidel servitor di qual serenissimo Dominio. E prima che vadia a Roma, veniva a farli reverentia, e farla certa di tal suo servizio."

There is nothing in the style of his deed to indicate a sentiment of tenderness towards Borgia. We may perhaps see in it the record of a present given by a man, one of the arts of whose calling was the prudent placing of presents.<sup>1</sup> It must have been known that Borgia could be pleased by a gift of relics. Portia's deed seems rather to want to please. Perhaps the motive of this donation is not unconnected with possible favours to come.

Gianbatista Castagna,<sup>2</sup> subsequently Pope Urban VII., was a man of heavier metal. A real fighter in the cause of the counter-Reformation, he knew whom he could trust as friends at the imperial court. As Gregory XIII. looked on the empress mother Maria<sup>3</sup> as a means for the management of Rudolph, so Castagna must have seen the importance of her Spanish majordomo. Castagna's correspondence shews the closeness of his relations with von Dietrichstein and Borgia.<sup>4</sup> He obtained for the latter a small collection of relics from Cologne, authenticated in our deed No. 19. The text of this deed is as follows:

Nos, Theobaldus, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus Cyrensis, Reverendissimi in Christo Patris ac domini, Domini Gebhardi, sanctae ecclesiae Coloniensis electi, per civitatem et diocesim Coloniensem in Pontificalibus Vicarius Generalis,

Omnibus ubique locorum praesentes nostras inspecturis, lecturis, seu legi forsitan audituris, salutem in Domino sempiternam !

Cum Sanctorum reliquias ex juris communis dispositione de

<sup>1</sup> There is general agreement as to Portia's astuteness. Pastor calls him "nach Torquato Tasso der klügste aller Nuntien" (L. von Pastor, *Gregor XIII.*, 1923, p. 647).

<sup>2</sup> For his earlier history, see L. von Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4, and for his papacy, the following volume of the *Geschichte der Päpste*.

Castagna was created Cardinal on December 12, 1583.

<sup>3</sup> For the Empress, and her importance in the eyes of the Vatican, see B. Duhr, *Gesch. der Jesuiten*, Bd. I., pp. 704-6. (A portrait of Maria is given on p. 705.)

<sup>4</sup> For these relations, see *Nuntiatur-berichte aus Deutschland*, J. Hansen, Abt. III., Bd. II., pp. 228-9. The letters cited shew Borgia in a favourable light, as competent and respected.



loco ad locum absque Episcopali consensu transferre non liceat, Illustrissimi tamen et Reverendissimi Domini Archiepiscopi Rossanensis, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Nuncii, speciali erga Deum devotioni, atque pio erga sanctorum reliquias affectui ex animo inclinati, Caput unius virginis martyris ex societate sanctæ Ursulæ et undecim Agrippinæ Colonia quiescentium virginum millium, deinde ossa quædam et alias aliquot reliquias sanctorum sanctarumque diversas ex monasteriis sancti Francisci et sanctorum Machabæorum Reverendissimæ suæ Dominationi gratiose donatas Colonia quocunque locorum voluerit transferendas, atque in honore ab omnibus Christifidelibus (ut dignum est) habendas, eidem Reverendissimæ suæ Dominationi auctoritate nostra episcopali concessimus, prout in præsentia nunc concedimus.

Et ut apud omnes majori veritatis robore hoc nostrum testimonium quovis calumniandi genere desuper excluso subsistat, episcopatus nostri sigillum majus appendere eidem non sumus gravati.

Datum Colonia Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo nono, die vero duodecim Octobris.

THEOBALDUS *idem qui supra, sic esse  
propria manu subscriptione contestor.*

L.S.

This document is a parchment with a fine red and black script. The seal is a press seal, with obverse Christ falling under the cross, and reverse a heraldic shield, with instruments of the Passion.

The Archbishop of Rossano (terra d'Otranto) here mentioned is Castagna. After nuntiature at Madrid (where his acquaintance with Borgia may have begun) and Venice, Castagna was sent, in this year 1579, accredited to the German electors, to examine into the fitness of Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, Archbishop-elect of Cologne, for confirmation. From 1579 until the breakdown of negotiations between Gebhard and the Papacy in 1582, the ecclesiastical routine of the archdiocese was carried on by the signatory of our deed, Theobald Craschel von Aachen,<sup>1</sup> *Weihbischof* with the title of *Episcopus Cyrensis* (the see of Theodoret). Originally the parish priest of St.

<sup>1</sup> For Craschel, see Max Lossen, *Der Kölnerische Krieg* (1882), pp. 203 seqq.

Alban's in Cologne, he was consecrated in 1568,<sup>1</sup> but his first years as suffragan were difficult. His attitude towards the Jesuits was cool, and his own wholeheartedness in the Catholic cause was suspect. But by 1579 this phase was past, and though by no means a great man, he had come to be trusted by Rome. The deed shews him acting purely in his official capacity. It is not he that is giving the relics. Castagna is obtaining them from two convents. One of these issues its own certificate, our deed No. 23, dated only two days previously. This is in a fine German copper-plate hand, adorned with vermilion. It is drawn by Beatrix de Stummel, *Abbatissa monalium sanctorum Machabæorum*, of Cologne. She grants to the Archbishop of Rossano, papal nuncio, a head of one of the companions of St. Ursula, together with a bone of St. Josippa, who was aunt to St. Ursula, and a piece of a crown or head-dress of one of the virgins. The abbess writes her signature and contestation in a good Gothic hand, and appends her small seal, with the device of the martyrdom of the Maccabees.

The tin box contains no deed from the Franciscan convent at Cologne, and Craschel gives us no idea what it should have contained. A privileged visitor to Cologne, such as Castagna, would as certainly seek Ursuline relics, as one visiting Rome seek relics from the catacombs. And there are only some four reliquaries in the "Recebimento" list not covered by deeds in the box, explicitly. Against these we have Craschel's unspecified relics, and another deed from Strassburg that does not specify what it covers. The fifth litter in de Campos' list carried a foot-high silver reliquary with an oval crystal, through which could be seen a big bone of St. Praxed. Manoel de Campos, in the "Recebimento" list for litter V., calls her "the sister of St. Potenciana," i.e. makes her the Roman St. Praxed. This is quite probably a pure guess, for there is a St. Praxed among the Ursuline virgins. The ninth litter has an exactly similar reliquary with a relic of St. Justina. This name also is one that figures in the Ursuline legend.

<sup>1</sup> By Salentin, Graf von Isenburg, Archbishop of Cologne, 1566-76.

The other two uncovered relics have no special Cologne connection. We may therefore provisionally assume that the large relics of Saints Praxed and Justina are Ursuline, and came from the Franciscan convent at Cologne. But even so, it does not follow that they formed the whole Franciscan donation. In the case of Beatrice Stummel's gift, one relic, the piece of a crown, does not appear in the "Recebimento" list, although the other two relics may do so. We have two alternatives. One is that Castagna was getting these relics for Borgia, but that one deed and one or more relics have been lost. The other is that he was not getting them specifically for Borgia, but that he later gave some of them, with Beatrice Stummel's deed to cover some, and Bishop Craschel's deed to cover the others, to Borgia, or to someone who in turn gave them to Borgia. On the whole, the latter alternative is preferable. But we have not anything decisive to go upon.

We may summarise the results obtained in this chapter by saying that the deeds examined combine to prove that Borgia was a man who held the esteem of the Catholic leaders with whom he was associated during his residence at Prague; further, that his collecting of relics, and, on the part of his friends, the giving of relics, was, and was regarded as, a token of zeal for religion, as the counter-Reformation understood religion.

## CHAPTER VII

### RELICS VARIOUSLY OBTAINED AT PRAGUE

IN the last chapter we have been considering donations where the personal link by which the relic came to Borgia is obvious. In this we shall treat of deeds which throw some light on the history of the relics authenticated, but leave us uninformed of the means by which they came into Borgia's hands.

Deed No. 79 is written in German, by John, Bishop of Strassburg, and Landgrave of Alsatia,<sup>1</sup> giving certain relics. He does not say what they are, where they come from, or to whom they are given. He merely indicates their wrapping, in Latin, evidently so that those who cannot read German may be able to see what relics the deed authenticates. The indication is "rubro serico et damasco nigro." They have always from ancestral times been venerated, and nothing has been taken from them.

This certificate is dated from Zabern, July 26, 1578, too early for the gift to have been made to Castagna, and too late for it to have been made to Portia. The deed begins with a preamble, grumbling about the falling off in devotion to the Catholic religion, and especially in the matter of the cultus of saints. Under those circumstances we might expect that the donor was parting with something he would not so readily have parted with, had the value set upon such things been greater. In short, we should expect it to be rather important. Our still uncovered relics in the "Recebimento" list are a

<sup>1</sup> For Johann von Manderscheid, see K. Hahn, *Die Kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen d. Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderscheid* (1913), Max Lossen, *Die Anfang des Strassburger Kapitelstreites, in Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. XVIII. (Münich, 1889), pp. 754-756, and *Nuntiatur-berichte*, Abt. III., Bd. II., J. Hansen, p. 528.

Matthew Merian, *Topographia Alsatiæ* (1663), gives a list of the twenty-four canons of Strassburg under Bishop Johann. Four of them are von Manderscheids. Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg was Dom-Dechant.

big bone of St. Matthias, in an arm-shaped reliquary with an oval window, on the third litter, and some relics of St. Mary Magdalene in a silver-gilt arm, of which the hand clasped an alabaster box containing some of the ointment which the Saint poured on the head of our Lord, this being on the eighth litter. So says de Campos. But it is not necessary to suppose that it was originally claimed that the box in the hand contained "relic" ointment. It might be simply put there as a known attribute of St. Mary Magdalene. At this point Salazar merely gives us "bones of St. Mary Magdalene."

The donor is Johann, Graf von Manderscheid, a sorely tried outpost of the Counter-reformation, who held the see of Strassburg from 1569 to 1592. He was a younger son of the house of Manderscheid-Blankenheim, and had been a companion of a number of other such sprigs of nobility on the Chapter of the Dom-kirche at Cologne. The class he belonged to was much given to the new faith, and his own mother was Protestant. But John was a loyal and dogged fighter for the old religion. He was upright and energetic, and though ambitious, was ready to face trouble for the Catholic interest. His own chapter at Strassburg consisted of just such a bunch of young nobles as he had belonged to at Cologne. The city of Strassburg was very jealous of his influence, and he had his bishop's palace at Zabern (Saverne). He received much help from the South German nuntiature of Bartolomeo Portia. And in 1579 he determined to gain the aid of the Jesuits. There was an empty convent at Zabern, that had belonged to the Discalced Carmelites. And into this he proceeded to settle Jesuits. Possibly someone negotiating in this matter was the recipient of the relics. But there is nothing here to carry us beyond surmises.

We are in much the same position in the case of deed No. 43 (ii.) The text is as follows:

Nos, Frater Joannes Biliecsky, Abbas Monasterii Obrensis, una cum conventu nostro, ad perpetuam rei mæmoriæ testamur nos reliquias infra recensitas, videlicet, Sanctæ Annæ, Sanctæ Fælicitatis virginis, Sanctæ Mariæ Madgalænæ, Sancti

Andrææ Apostoli, Sancti Sebastiani martyris, Sanctæ Fidæi virginis, et duo capita ex numero undecim milia virginum, ab antecessoribus nostris in ecclesia nostra ab antiquis temporibus cum summa devotione et pietate asservatas et habitas, Magnifico Domino Baltazaro Baroni á Kithlicz in Kolssic. Ad petitionem et postulationem ejus, cum licentia Reverendissimi Domini Lucæ á Koscielec episcopi Poznaniensis, tradidisse et communicasse. In cujus rei evidentiam, testimonium sigillo nostro præsentis muniri, et manu nostra subscribi curavimus.

Datum in Monasterio Obrensi

Anno Domini 1581, die decima quinta Januarii.

FRATER JOANNES BILIECZKY, *Abbas*

*Monasterii Obrensis, manu propria subscripsit.*

L.S.

FR. STANISLAUS, *Prior.*

FR. SEBASTIANUS, *Cantor.*

As a collection, these relics figure neither in the "Recebimento" list nor in that of da Veiga. The only possibility is that the deed came as a covering deed for either one of the Malaspina relics, or a head of a virgin of the Ursuline company, or a relic of St. Mary Magdalene. But while the date suggests that it belongs to the Borgia collection, it is possible that it came otherwise to São Roque, through one of the Jesuits.

The *Monasterium Obrense*,<sup>1</sup> whence the relics came, is a Cistercian house, of no great importance, mentioned by Jongelin.<sup>2</sup> The town of Obra is in the extreme south-west

<sup>1</sup> Summary and bibliography in L. Janauschek, *Origines Cistercienses*, 1877, p. 241. Christian Meyer, *Geschichte des Landes Posen* (Posen, 1881), while eschewing footnotes and references, is evidently founded on an extremely good knowledge of a field of historical material not easily accessible to the English student. He tells that Obra was founded in 1231 by the Canon Sandivoi of Posen. "Gehört zu dem verbreitem deutscher Cultur," and Duke Wladislaw exempted the monks from Polish taxes. It brought German colonisation, and from 1257 governed its tenantry by German law (pp. 97, 119).

<sup>2</sup> K. Jongelin, *Notitia Abbatiarum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Cologne, 1640), Lib. IV., p. 51. He quotes from Matthias Michovius, *De rebus Polonorum*, to the effect that Obra was founded from the monastery of Aldenburg in the diocese of Cologne. He could apparently find out very little about it, except that another authority named it a daughter house of

corner of Poznań, and Cellarius describes it as "Obra, cum abbatia Obrensi occiduis Calisciensis satrapiæ finibus contermina," i.e., on the border of the Palatinate of Kalisch. Abbot John of Obra (who may be our John Biliecsky) attended the synod of Poznań (Posen) in 1561.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Luke Koscielec<sup>2</sup> succeeded, in 1577, Bishop Adam Konarski, who in 1571 invited the Jesuits into the diocese. With the reign of Stephen Bathory, whom their writers describe as *Pater et patronus noster*, the Society became at once influential.<sup>3</sup>

Baron Balthasar à Kittlicz, lord of Drencka and Kolzig,<sup>4</sup> was a member of a widespread family whose centre was the castle of Kittlicz by Glogau, but the branches of which spread over Bohemia, Silesia, Lausitz, Poland and Prussia. Kolzig lies a few miles south-west of Obra, just over the Silesian boundary. Balthasar had a large family, and his third son Marcus became Dean of Breslau in 1579. His brother Marcus, Dom-probst of Leitmeritz, died in 1580. Baron Balthasar himself died in 1584. We may say, in short, that the donor

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Vangrowieck. But Andrew Cellarius, in his *Regni Poloniae Descriptio*, (Amsterdam, 1659), p. 222, gives the note cited.

The abbey appears as involved in cases at law in 1498 and 1506. See *Mon. Med. æv. Hist. Poloniae*, Tom. XVI. (*Acta Judiciæ Eccles. Poznańskiens.*), pp. 690, 724.

<sup>1</sup> See Joseph Łukaszewicz, *Historisch-Statistisches Bild der Stadt Posen*, Bd. II., p. 211. (Tiesler edn., 1878, of the German version, made by L. König, 1864.) Also *Acta Historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, Tom. XIII., pp. 174-5.

<sup>2</sup> J. Długosz (Longinus) and T. Treter, *Vitæ Episcoporum Posnanien.* (Braunsburg, 1604), give a not very flattering account of the bishop, who, if not quite supine, was hardly a Counter-reformation leader. (No pagination.)

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Jesuit activity in Poland, see A. F. Pollard, *Jesuits in Poland* (1892); and in connection with the Posen diocese, Łukaszewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 216. Koscielicki was translated to Posen from Przemyśl in 1577, and died in 1597.

<sup>4</sup> The *Halle Universal Lexicon* (1737) has a long article on the house of Kittlicz, *sub nomine*. This is fortunate for our purpose, as the Kolzig family seems to have been very undistinguished. Thus, for instance, no Kittlicz appears in any state deed in Matthias Dogiel's *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Poloniae* (Vilna, 1758-64).

The Lexicon probably drew on Johannes Sinapius, *Schlessischer Curiositäten* (1720-8), Tom. I., p. 198, whence we gather that Baron Balthasar, Freyherr von Kittlitz aus Koltzig, died of the plague in 1584, leaving eight children.

of these relics was a member of a Polish-Silesian family of strong Catholic and clerical tradition. Beyond this we can hardly expect to get. If the relics came straight to Borgia from Kittlicz, we must suppose them to be a parting gift, in recognition of some relationship between them. But in that case Borgia must have broken up the collection before the "Recebimento." If another person stands between Kittlicz and the donor of the relics to São Roque, we have nothing by which to trace him. The relations between King Stephen Bathory and the counter-Reformation leaders outside Poland provide us a general background. And some of the relics mentioned in this deed may have been sent after Borgia, subsequent to his departure for Spain.

That relics followed Borgia to Spain is testified by our deed No. 4. This was drawn at Madrid on July 26, 1587, by the Nuncio at Madrid, Cesar Speziani, and is a covering deed for five groups of relics. In this way it bears a general resemblance to the Malaspina deeds. But on further examination, it proves to be different in principle. The deed is not to cover the contents of one reliquary. The principle of its construction seems to be that it should replace five deeds where the original donors named were very minor personages in Austria. None of the five original deeds is in the tin box. Speziani's deed gives briefly the particulars from the original deeds, and certifies, on the faith of Cesar Speziani, *Episcopus Novariensis, Nuntius Apostolicus et Legatus a latere*, that Don Juan de Borgia, Councillor to the King of Spain, etc., has obtained gifts<sup>1</sup> of relics, as under. In no case is there any mention of the recipient named in the original deed. And the most natural explanation of Speziani's deed is that these original deeds were to certify gifts to persons other than Borgia, from whom he subsequently received them. These deeds were:

(1) From the *Abbas Sedlicensis*, two skulls of virgins of the company of St. Ursula, from his church, May 23, 1579.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase "obtained gifts" recognises the Tridentine principle that relics may change hands only upon the motive of pure love and devotion, and on no account for considerations of a pecuniary nature.



The Cistercian abbey of Zedlitz or Zedlec<sup>1</sup> was a daughter house of Waldsass, founded in 1143. It lay eight miles south-east of Prague. Ruined by the Hussites in 1421, it had, at the time of our donation, a mere half-dozen of monks living very poorly in the patched-up buildings.

(2) From the conventual church of St. Thomas at Prague, by gift from the Vicar-general of the Austin friars of the Province of Bohemia and Bavaria, a skull of one of the Ursuline virgins, and an arm-bone of St. Cordula, as also "de ligno sanctissimæ Crucis, theca parvula argentea incluso." The arm-bone of St. Cordula is recognisable in the "Recebimento" as in a silver-gilt reliquary with an oval crystal window, on the first litter. The skull is also possibly on this same litter, laid on a silken cushion on a silver salver. The piece of the True Cross, if it figures at all in the "Recebimento," must be that in the reliquary in the eleventh litter, described as a silver cross three palms high, with on one side the figure of Our Lady and on the other the Christ.

The donation is dated April 10, 1581. The Austin friars had their house and church in the same quarter, called "Little Prague," where the Nuntiature and most of the palaces lay. They appear as friends of the Jesuits, to whom they provided place in their house, during the earlier days of the Jesuit work in Prague, for their "Conciones."<sup>2</sup>

(3) From the Dominican abbey church of Leoben,<sup>3</sup> by gift of the Prior, a skull of one of the Theban martyrs, together with "tria ossa oblonga fistulata de sacris Christi sanctorum corporibus, quorum inscriptiones vetustate consumptæ non dignoscuntur." The deed of donation is dated September 7,

<sup>1</sup> For Zedlec, see Kaspar Jongelin, *op. cit.*, Lib V., p. 4, and Lib. III., pp. 7-9; Aubertus Miræus, *De rebus Bohemicis* (1621), p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See Schmidl, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> For Leoben, see Sigismund Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 523 and pp. 596-8. J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum* (1721), Tom. II., p. v. Leoben is a small town in Styria, north-west of Grätz. In the "Descobrimento" inventory, this relic appears on cushion-shaped reliquary No. 7 behind the altar of Todos os Santos; "craneo inteiro de um dos santos martyres da sociedade de S. Gereão, Martyr, sem nome" (whole skull of unnamed Theban martyr).

1581, and the *Prior conventus Loibensis* describes himself also as Provincial Minister of the Order for the Province of Styria, Carinthia and Croatia. He was one of the more active agents of Catholic restoration, a Milanese, by name Sebastian Cataneus.<sup>1</sup> He appears as Provincial of Styria at the Comitia of 1580, and as Provincial of Hungary at the Chapter General of 1589. He became Theologian to the Archbishop of Salzburg, in 1592 was consecrated suffragan with the title of "Episcopus Chiemensis" (from Chiemsee, by Salzburg), and later was suffragan with right of succession at Viglevano, near Milan. He died, however, in 1609, without succeeding to the bishopric.

The significance of his position and that of his comparatively modern convent at Leoben<sup>2</sup> in Styria lies in the fact that this province, particularly from its town centres of Grätz, Leoben and Judenburg, was the scene of a strong forward movement of Catholicism, in which the Jesuits and the Dominicans are seen working hand in hand.<sup>3</sup> Leoben lies to the north-west of Grätz. The Catholic revival there was aided politically by the strongly Catholic attitude of the Archduke Karl.

We may probably recognise the head of the Theban martyr in the "Recebimento" list for the fifth litter, on a cushion, on a silver salver, while the other three bones may be part of the contents of a gilt wood reliquary, adorned with velvet, and set with windows, which was on the seventh litter.

<sup>1</sup> For Cataneus, see Ferrari, *op. cit.*, p. 596 and following. The Hungarian province of the Order collapsed after the battle of Mohacs, 1526 (*op. cit.*, p. 592). The 1589 Chapter revived it.

<sup>2</sup> The convent does not appear in Ferrari's list for 1486 (*op. cit.*, p. 507). The only mention of it in T. Ripoll, *Bullarium*, *ed. cit.*, is in Tom. IV., p. 128. This is a Faculty of Alexander VI. for the founding of the convent by a Count of Lavnitz in 1497.

<sup>3</sup> For the Catholic revival in Styria, and the predominant part played in it by these towns, see J. Loserth, *Acten und Correspondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation, 1578-1590*. (In *Fontes Rerum Austriacorum*, Vienna, 1898.)

See also his *Reformation und Gegenreformation in den innerösterreichischen Ländern im xvi Jahrhundert* (1898), where he presents a picture of the Protestants in their St. Martin's Church drawing away the people from the Judenburg Pfarrkirche (see pp. 226, 255, 433). After 1590, however, the privileges of non-Catholics began to be withdrawn.

(4) From the Augustinian Canons of the *Mons Caroli* at Prague,<sup>1</sup> by gift of the abbot, dated May 2, 1581, *duæ fistulæ brachiorum ex prædictis undecim millibus virginum, et os brachii sanctæ Dorotheæ*. This abbey, known as the Carlshoff, was in New Prague, and was a foundation of Charles IV., "in honour of Our Lady and Charlemagne." It was Archabbey of the Austin Canons for Austria. If these relics appear in the "Recebimento," it must be in the second gilt wood case on the seventh litter.

(5) From the parish church of Judenburg, in Upper Styria, by gift of the Parochus, "Chr. Part" (Christoph Barth?), dated September 9, 1581, the skull of a saint of name unknown. Here we have a donation certified after Borgia had left Prague, which confirms the supposition that the relics in our deed came to Borgia through intermediaries, and were only received by him when he had returned to Spain. Archduke Karl invited the Jesuits to take up work in Judenburg, where a succession of powerful Evangelical schoolmasters helped to maintain the prestige of the Reform, in 1573. They undertook a difficult task.<sup>2</sup> But the campaign initiated by Archduke Karl to restore Catholicism to the position of established religion in Styria was not allowed to rest. In November, 1580, Rudolph wrote to the Archduke, urging him not to permit the Protestants to gain any advantage through the oncoming winter Landtag. Father Henry Blysssem, of Grätz, led the Jesuit part of the campaign.<sup>3</sup> In Judenburg they secured the restriction of the Protestants to one place of meeting, while they themselves gained ground in the work of education. In 1585 the College at Grätz received University

<sup>1</sup> For the *Mons Caroli*, see Michael Kuen, *Collectio Scriptorum rerum Hist. Mon. Eccles. Var. Reg. Ord.*, Tom. V., pp. 274-5 (Austin canons of Germany). Also Aubertus Miræus, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Peinlich, *Judenburg und das heilig Geistspital daselbst* (1870), contains the fruits of antiquarian studies on the life of Judenburg at our period. As against Loserth's picture of the success of the official campaign (*op. cit.*, pp. 271-277), Peinlich brings out the resistance power of the Protestants in Judenburg. The tide did not really begin to turn until 1588.

<sup>3</sup> For the work at Grätz, see Duhr, *Gesch. der Jesuiten*, Bd. I., pp. 163-169.

charter, and this side of the advance was consolidated. Within five years, the Catholic revival may be said to have triumphed.

At the time when our deed was drawn, the triumph still seemed a long way off in Judenburg. The Archduke could establish Jesuits in the town, but that did not automatically set the people coming to church.<sup>1</sup> Until nearly 1588 the position was so bad that the income of the parish church was barely enough to support the Pfarrer, and several had had to resign in consequence. It was one of these poor boycotted priests, therefore, who gave to some friend of Borgia a nameless relic from his empty church.

Cesar Speziani<sup>2</sup> was a close associate of St. Carlo Borromeo, for whom he was active at Rome under the pontificate of Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. began to use him for visitation duties in 1585, and in April, 1586, sent him to replace Tavernas at the Spanish court. Here he had a very difficult position. A warm friend of the Jesuits, he took up the cudgels, during this time, on their behalf, against the Inquisitor, Quiroga. He returned to his see, after his recall in 1588, served later as a nuncio in Germany (1592-1597), was translated to Cremona, and died at Spoleto in 1605. He had been a benefactor of the Jesuit College at Cremona in 1601.

His readiness to help Borgia was natural. His deed is a fine parchment, sealed with a large round seal, enclosed in a tin box of the same shape attached to the deed by a red cord. These gifts sent after Borgia are almost more impressive in their testimony to the character of his five years at Prague than the direct gifts considered in Chapter VI.

<sup>1</sup> For the Archduke's relations with the Jesuits, see Duhr, *Jesuiten an Fürstenhöfen*, pp. 9 seqq. and pp. 17 seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Novara is in the Duchy of Milan.

For Speziani, see an anonymous *Vita di Cesar Speciani* (Bergamo, 1786), and his own *Consideratione sopra Gregorio XIII.*

The correspondence of his time as Spanish nuncio is given in Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España* (1896).

For his relations with the Jesuits, see the *Historia S.J.*, Pt. V., Tom. I., pp. 400, 403, 512, and Tom. II., p. 293.

## CHAPTER VIII

### IMPERIAL GIFTS

DEED No. 8 is not in the tin box, but its place is supplied by a Portuguese translation on foolscap, in Sr. Ribeiro's handwriting. The deed itself, being much more magnificent than any of the others, has been placed on show in the Museum of São Roque. There are illuminated capitals, and the imperial seal on it, and the signature of Rudolph II. It certifies, in fact, a gift of relics to Borgia by the Emperor himself. He styles himself—

Rudolphus II., Divina Providentia, electus Imperator semper Augustus Romanorum Rex Germaniæ, Ungariæ, Bohemiæ, Croatiae et Sclavoniæ, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ Styriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ et Wurtembergii, Comes Tyrolensis, etc.

and says: "We profess, and by the tenor of these presents declare to all for a perpetual memorial, that whereas the Magnificent and Our well-beloved Don Juan de Borgia, Counsellor of the most Serene and Catholic Don Philip, King of the Two Spains, Sicily and Jerusalem, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and Milan, etc., Our well-beloved maternal Uncle, by Him commissioned to us as Ambassador, has now for several years exercised the same office by command of the Catholic King, and attentive to his interests, by fidelity and zeal, as well as by his remarkable prudence, industry and dexterity in affairs; in confidence that he will continue to possess, as he has heretofore possessed, the favour both of Ourselves and of the Catholic King, and in trust that this will so happen, also, through the same disinterested will on his part for the good of the whole Christian commonwealth; We are explicitly resolved not to let these his deserts pass in silence, without Our consideration, but to give him some per-

manent affirmation of Our good opinion, and Our warm affection. We therefore declare that for Our marked appreciation of his aforesaid virtues, as of his outstanding and pious devotion to the Catholic religion, and the veneration of sacred Relics, We are resolved to reward these so notable deserts of the aforesaid Don Juan de Borgia, and his devotion to Our Person, by granting to him certain relics preserved in Our Chapel-royal in Our Castle of Neustadt, in the city of Our beloved Lambert, Bishop of Neustadt. These relics are, the skull of St. Brigit the virgin, a large bone from the body of St. Gereon the martyr, another large bone from the body of St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, and an arm of St. Elizabeth the widow; trusting that the same Don Juan de Borgia will take care that they receive the respect that is their due, and are conserved in a place as fitted for them as that from which they have been brought. And that no one in future may have any doubt that such relics are authentic, as We have given to Don Juan de Borgia, We have caused to be transcribed here, word for word, the letters testimonial of the bishop of Neustadt above mentioned, of which the tenor is as follows."

Here follows the full text of our deed No. 38 (ii.), and then the Emperor continues:

"And further, for the fuller authentication, We give these Our letters-patent, subscribed with Our own hand, and affix thereto Our Imperial seal. Given in Our Royal castle of Prague, on the 20th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1580, and Our fifth year in the Kingdom of the Romans, our eighth in the Kingdom of Hungary and our fifth in the Kingdom of Bohemia."

Deed No. 38 (ii.) in the tin box, is itself a copy, and not the original certificate of the Bishop of Neustadt, which, we must suppose, remained in the imperial chancery. Needless to say, the copy bears no seal.

Lambert, Bishop of "Neapolis" in Austria (*i.e.*, Wiener-Neustadt), certifies that he sends to Ernest, Archduke of Austria, for conveyance to the Emperor, the head of St. Brigit,

a bone of St. Otto of Bamberg, a bone of St. Gereon, and an arm of St. Elizabeth the widow.<sup>1</sup> The bishop speaks of the Archduke as having written to him, but there is no specification of the manner of handing over of the relics. The date is very little earlier than that of the imperial deed, so that the relics were clearly sent for, direct, for the purpose of presentation to Borgia. It is not clear why the Archduke Ernest comes into the transaction unless it is really he who is the initiator of the gift.<sup>2</sup>

The Lambert in question is Lambert Grutter,<sup>3</sup> who was brought into the household of Maximilian II. as a domestic chaplain by Adam von Dietrichstein in 1569. A Netherlander by origin, he had come to the fore as a fashionable preacher. He was consecrated Bishop of Wiener-Neustadt in 1572, but was very intimate in the affairs of Rudolph and was a constant absentee from his diocese in attendance at court. He died on August 13, 1582, while attending the Reichstag at Augsburg.

The head of St. Brigit at Neustadt was famous, and is one

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the frequent mention of relics of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the documents in the tin box, we may note the circumstances that made such relics both popular and widespread in the circles with which we are concerned. The Saint was interred in the church of the hospital of her founding at Marburg. The body began to be the object of pious plunder in the fifteenth century, much in the same way as that of St. John Eleemosynary at Pozsony. Charles IV. took away relics, when he was planning his enrichment of Prague, the price being a ruby ring and a court chaplaincy to the ecclesiastic who accommodated him. (For the Prague donations, see Bohuslas Balbinus, *Miscellanea Historica Regni Bohemiæ*, Tom. III., 1683, Decas I., lib. 6, pp. 54-64. The text of the Emperor's deeds is given.)

The reforming Landgrave, Philip, in 1539, to stop the St. Elizabeth pilgrimage, removed the relics to the castle. But Charles V. forced him to restore them, and probably took toll. There was certainly considerable dispersion at this time.

See F. Kuch, *Zur Geschichte der Reliquien der heiligen Elizabeth*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1926, Hft. II., pp. 198-215).

<sup>2</sup> This is likely enough, for Ernest was active where Rudolph was lethargic. Ernest was a friend to the Jesuits. See Schmidl, *op. cit.*, p. 544, and Duhr, *Jesuiten an Fürstenthöfen*, l.c., esp. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> For Grutter, see *Nuntiatur-berichte*, Abt. III., Bd. II., Hansen, p. 170.

Also Anton Klein, *Geschichte des Christenthums in Oesterreich und Steiermark*, Bd. IV. (Vienna, 1842), p. 294.

of the four relics included in the "Recebimento" on account of which Sixtus V. granted an annual Jubilee to the Church of São Roque (on St. Brigit's Day, February 1). It was contained in a silver-gilt bust of the Saint, carried on the tenth litter.<sup>1</sup> And de Campos notes from the Neustadt deed, that in the Chapel-royal, it was kept under triple lock.

Its coming to Lisbon must, it seems, have caused some embarrassment to the sisters in the convent of Lumiar, just north of Lisbon. They had claimed to possess the head of St. Brigit in their church. But Jorge Cardoso, in his *Agiologio Lusitano* relates a story of the miraculous disappearance of this relic. He does not note any connection between this story and the coming of the famous relic to Lisbon. But the incident suggests that the public recognised degrees of authenticity in relics, and expected the less established competitor to give way when brought into proximity with another.

The arm-bone of St. Gereon appears on the eighth litter in an appropriate reliquary, in the shape of a silver fore-arm, of which the hand clasped a silver baton, an emblem of the calling of the Saint.

A silver-gilt arm, again, contained the arm-bone of St. Otto of Bamberg, the apostle of Pomerania, on the fourth litter. Another similar reliquary on the third litter contained the arm-bone of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.

In each case these arm-bones are described as *ossum insigne*, and in the case of the arm of St. Otto there were as many as four windows in the reliquary, so that the length of the relic inside could be fully appreciated. Both the adjective *insigne* and the arrangement of the windows silently testify to the way in which the multiplication of small relics had brought it about that people set store, in different degree, upon large relics

<sup>1</sup> The skull of St. Brigit is credited with a miracle in the *Annua Litteræ* for 1594-5 (p. 765). "Sanctæ Brigitæ caput tenuem hominem epilepsia, alterum extremo in vitæ periculo sanguinis profluvio sanavit."

The *Annua Litteræ* for 1600 (p. 127) speak of the popularity of the relics, picking out those of St. Brigit and St. Gregory Thaumaturgus as occupying the first place in popular veneration.



which could be identified, and impress themselves on the mind. To the latter end, the emblematic reliquary cases were a help.

So too Rudolph reveals, albeit unconsciously, that relics gain prestige from the hands they pass through. He has no more knowledge than is contained in Lambert Grutter's certificate. But he naïvely takes it for granted that an Emperor's signature must be able to add *authenticitas* to the limb of a saint.

The date of the donation is fifteen months before the time of Borgia's departure from Prague. The curious position which he there occupied, of being at once Philip's ambassador and Maria's chamberlain, could only be maintained by dint of great tact and dexterity, as Rudolph says. It depended also on Maria's power of maintaining her influence over her son. As Rudolph grew older, he was certainly less amenable to management. From time to time difficult situations must have arisen. But Maria was under pressure from Gregory XIII. to keep her hold on Rudolph as long as she could, since that gave the best hope of a consistently Catholic policy on Rudolph's part. When the Pope took no public notice of the Empress's journey through Italy in 1581, this was interpreted as a mark of disapproval. And in the correspondence that passed between Gregory and Maria during her journey, the Empress is seen excusing herself, on the ground that her son is now too old to need or welcome her interference. We have therefore to do with a situation of increasing strain leading up to the final decision, on Maria's part, to leave Prague. This must have involved a history of "incidents." Rudolph's deed and the tenor of its wording would be explained if Borgia had recently been signally successful in seeing one of these incidents safely over. We could hardly have a better demonstration of the peculiar value and character of Borgia's work.

It appears that Borgia's relations with Maria were too assured for him to need any testimonial from her. He returned with her to the Spanish court, and remained in her service till her death. So, in the matter of Borgia's donation to São Roque, it would appear that Maria was personally interested to take a share

in its enhancement. This appears from our deed No. 42,<sup>1</sup> which runs as follows:

Maria, by the grace of God, Empress of the Romans, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Princess of Spain, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, etc., Countess of the Tyrol, etc., By the tenor of these presents We will have all to know, who receive, read, or hear them, that Don Juan de Borja, Our Chief Chamberlain, having besought it, We have thought good to grant him certain of the relics that We had from various Prelates, churches and monasteries, with the Apostolic authority given to Us to that end, in the places where they have been venerated and revered for a long time, as appears from the deeds of authentication which We have received thence;

and trusting that he will send them, or place them, where they

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish text of deed No. 42 is as follows:

Maria, por la gracia de Dios Emperatriz de Romanos, Reyna de Hungria y de Bohemia, Infante de España, Archiduquesa de Austria, Duquesa de Burgoña &a, Condesa de Tyrol &a,

Por el tenor de la presente, hazemos saver a todos los que haveran, lean y oyan, que haviendo nos supplicado don Juan de Borja, nuestro mayordomo mayor, tuviessemos porbien de le conçeder y dar algunas reliquias de las que havemos havido de algunos Prelados, Iglesias y monesterios, con la auturidad Appostolica que para ello tenemos, donde heran veneradas y reverenciadas de mucho tiempo a esta parte, como consta de los testimonios autenticos que dello tenemos; y confiando las embiara ou pondra en lugar donde sean no menos antes mas acatadas y honrradas que en los lugares donde antes estavan.

Fuymos servida de condeçender en su peticion, y graçiosamente, entre outras reliquias, darle las siguientes: La Cabeça de sanct Gregorio Thaumaturgo, Obispo y confessor; Y la cabeça de sancta Geva virgen y martir, y la de sancta Aurelia virgen, Y la de sanct Vidasto; Item una cabeça de las onze mill virgenes; y outra cabeça de sancto sin nombre por haver-se perdido el letrado por su mucha antiguedad; ansimismo le dimos una reliquia de sanct Roque confessor, y un relicario de madera guarnecido de terciopelo morado con reliquias de las onze mill virgenes; y mas una reliquia de sancta Barbara virgen y martir que nos dio la Republica de Venecia:

Y para que, en qualquierparte, conste ser estas reliquias muy ciertas y verdaderas, y en ello no se ponga duda alguna, mandamos dar la presente, firmada de nuestra mano, y sellada con nuestro Imperial sello.

Dada en S. Lorenço, a viente y nueve dias del mes de Agosto de mill y quinientos y ochenta siete anos.

MARIA,

*Por mando de su Majestad,*

HENRIQUEZ DE MACHEDO.

L.S.

will be no less, but rather more, venerated and honoured than in the places where they were before.

We have been pleased to grant his petition, and graciously to give him among other relics, the following:

The head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop and confessor; also the head of St. Geva, virgin and martyr; also of St. Aurelia, the virgin; also of St. Vedast; further the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins; and another head, of a saint whose name is lost because the writing decayed through its great antiquity; likewise We have given him a relic of St. Roch the confessor; also a reliquary of wood covered with dark red velvet, containing relics of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; and a relic of St. Barbara, virgin and martyr, which was given to Us by the Republic of Venice. And to the end that, wherever they may be, these relics may be manifestly more certain and genuine, and that no possible doubt may arise in the matter, We order that these presents be granted, signed with Our hand, and sealed with Our Imperial seal.

Given at St. Lawrence, the 29th of August, 1587.

MARIA.

*By Order of Her Majesty,*

HENRIQUEZ DE MACHEDO.

L.S.

At the bottom of the parchment is written, apparently by Machado, for the Empress when signing, the note: "Authentication of the relics that Your Majesty has given to Don Juan de Borja, Your Majesty's Chief Chamberlain."<sup>1</sup> And outside, so as to shew when the deed is folded, is the inscription: "Authentication of relics, of the head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, of St. Geva, virgin and martyr, of St. Aurelia, virgin, of St. Vedast, of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, together with the relics of St. Roch and of St. Barbara."<sup>2</sup>

The deed and first note are in Castilian, and the second in Portuguese. The relics are recognisable in the "Recebimento," St. Gregory on the eleventh, St. Aurelia on the sixth,

<sup>1</sup> Testimonio de las Reliquias que Vossa Majestad ha dado a don Juan de Borja, Mayordomo mayor de Vossa Majestad.

<sup>2</sup> Testemunho das Reliquias das cabeças de S. Gregorio Taumaturgo, de S. Geva virgen e martir, de S. Aurelia virgen, de S. Vedasto, de hua das 11 mil virgens, e tambem las reliquias de S. Roque e de S. Barbora [*sic*]

St. Barbara on the first, St. Geva on the third, St. Vedast on the tenth, St. Roch on the seventh (the other two skulls cannot be placed with certainty), and the reliquary of wood adorned with dark red velvet on the seventh of the litters.<sup>1</sup> This last item is the only one with regard to which it appears that Borgia did not supply the reliquary. And de Campos' list states that there were fifty-four separate relics in this case.

Maria says in her deed that she had received authentications with each of the relics,<sup>2</sup> but with one exception they have not been passed on. It would have been of the greatest interest to know under what circumstances she received the head of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus,<sup>3</sup> a saint practically unknown to

<sup>1</sup> In the "Descobrimento" list, the skulls of St. Brigit and St. Aurelia appear as on reliquary No. 38 behind the altar of Todos os Santos, a simple rest in the shape of a double cushion. The skulls of St. Geva and St. Vedast are similarly accommodated, but in the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Piedade. The relic of St. Barbara seems to be the one Borgia relic missing from the "Descobrimento" list. The skull of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus is in reliquary No. 47, "um cofre dito de metal amarello," behind the altar of Onze Mil Virgens. This yellow metal casket, with a slightly domed lid ornamented with small bells hanging from the corners, may be seen in the same place today.

<sup>2</sup> Maria says that the relics she has given to Borgia are just some of the relics which she had collected in virtue of her Papal faculty. The phrase about the authentications which she had with them would seem therefore to refer to the collection as a whole, and not to prove that each of the relics in this gift to Borgia had its separate authenticating deed.

<sup>3</sup> The sonnets at the "Recebimento" in honour of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus are based entirely upon what is in Rufinus, *H.E.*, Bk. VII., no doubt through its entry into the martyrologies. For example, one sonneteer invites the saint to transport the hill of São Roque to the stars.

Afterwards, his skull took clearly a leading place in popular estimation. The *Annua Litteræ* for 1594-5, p. 765, records the following miracles.

Phthisi domi laborabat e nostris sacerdos unus; eratque de illius jam vita conclamatum. Is caput S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi quod in nostra servatur æde, die illi sacro ad se allatum exosculatus, præsentem sancti antistitis persensit opem. Postero enim die summa cum omnium lætitia, febris, quæ intimis hærens medullis vitam illi sensum deterebat, omnis penitus abscessit. Eodem religioso die, eodemque remedio et femina primaria sanata est.

After a description of her illness, we are told how she was brought to the church in a state of *imbecillitas*. "Hæ quoque sacrum osculata caput, ita confestim confirmata est, ut quæ vectationem modo ferre non potuerit, suis ipsa nixa pedibus domum redierit."

The *Annua Litteræ* for 1600, p. 127, shew recourse to this relic during the plague, evidently based on the story in Nyssen's life of the Saint, of his power over the plague in Neocæsarea. The passage runs:

the Western world until just at this time. The relic is evidently regarded as of outstanding importance, if not even as the first relic of the collection. The grant of a Jubilee to the church of São Roque on November 17 testifies this. People do not seem to have known about him, except what his title suggested; and the Lisbon poets who had the task of writing the sonnets in honour of this relic bear eloquent witness alike to the importance of the relic in their eyes, and their ignorance of the history either of it or of the Saint himself.

Was the donor, then, an Oriental, or someone in touch with the Eastern Church? This would explain the characteristics noted. We notice also that small relics of this same Saint appear in the large reliquaries covered by the Malaspina deeds, Nos. 5 and 7. In the same way we find Borgia, as well as the Empress, receiving a relic of St. Barbara from the Venetian Republic. In each case we may see a recognition that Borgia is an important person who stands so close to the Empress, where Catholic political interests are concerned, that he is not to be left out.

There is, as has been said, one deed certifying relics which

*Sanctuarium duo apud nos Divorum reliquiis asservandis ornata magnifice, multorum donis celebrantur. (These are, no doubt, the recesses behind the altars of Onze Mil Virgens and Todos os Santos) Maximo tamen honori et venerationi præcipue sunt beatæ Brigittæ et Divi Gregorii Thaumaturgi: plurimis etiam miraculis venerabundis propitii esse existimantur. Illud pro comperto habeatur; per nobilia pariter et ignota capita late evagante pestilentia repertum neminem qui Thaumaturgi capitis mensura suo circumdata, absumeritur contagione.*

The fame of the relic produced its effect in the decoration of the church. In the upper niche on the north wall beside the high altar is the figure of this Saint, in red cope and gloves over laced rochet and cassock. He carries a book in his right hand, and in his left a staff with a wreath of leaves at its tip. But he is bare-headed and clean-shaven. The idea of the Saint conveyed by the precious reliquary in which his relic arrived, a venerable mitred bust, has disappeared as completely as the reliquary itself.

The Saint thus kept before the minds of Lisbon folk gives his name Gregorio Thaumaturgo, as a Christian name. It is borne, for example, by the Brazilian military writer, Marechal Gregorio Thaumaturgo de Azevedo, as it was by the third Conde de Villa-Nova de Portimão, Don G. T. de Castello Branco.

are unmistakably relics in Maria's donation. This is deed No. 24. It runs as follows:

In Nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejusdem Millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo primo, Indictione nona, Pontificatus sanctissimi domini nostri, Domini Gregorii, divina Providentia Papæ decemtertii, anno nono, die Veneris, decima septima mensis Februarii; in mei Notarii publici testiumque infrascriptorum, ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, præsentia; in ecclesia Monasterii Eberbacensis, personaliter constitutus venerandus et religiosus Dominus Georgius Boppardiensis, conventualis dicti monasterii Eberbacensis,<sup>1</sup> Et infrascriptas sanctorum reliquias et capita, accensis duabus cereis candelis, cum summa reverentia ex infra notatis locis, nomine et commissione Reverendi Domini Abbatis et totius conventus dicti monasterii Eberbacensis, sumpsit, Et primo quidem ex altare antiquæ Trinitatis (ut asseruit) caput cujus inscriptio: Sancta Geva, virgo et martir, de genere Comitum de Vij. Secundo, ex Summo altare, caput cujus intitulatio; De societate sancti Gereonis. Tertio, caput sanctæ Aureliæ virginis. Quarto, caput sanctorum Maurorum martirum. Quinto, caput sanctæ Constantiæ Reginæ. Sexto et ultimo, caput sancti Conradi martiris. Quas reliquias transtulit ad altare sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi apostolorum.

The deed then goes on to relate that Dominus Georgius aforesaid, after saying Mass, delivered these relics to the Reverend Ludovic Brackelius, principal chaplain to Daniel, Lord Archbishop of Mainz, and Elector, for conveyance to his Most Reverend Highness. In making this conveyance, Dominus Georg gave his right hand and took oath "se firma fide credere antefassas reliquias pro talibus reputari," and that they had always received veneration. They then wrapped up the relics "in panniculis sericis" and placed them in a "cistula." Brackelius then took them into his charge.

<sup>1</sup> For the Abbey of Eberbach, see L. Janauschek, *Origines Cistercienses* (1877), pp. 20, 21, giving a very good bibliography. K. Jongelin, *Notitia Abbatiarum Ordinis Cisterciensis*, Bk. II., p. 42, gives a brief account, and fuller material is to be got in Hermann Baer, *Diplomatische Geschichte der Abtei Eberbach*, edited by K. Rossel (1855 and 1858). Also Rossel's *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Eberbach* (1862).

To this transaction the witnesses are Joannes Brugger, *Plebanus*,<sup>1</sup> and Anthonius Zehener, *Altarista*, who were summoned before the Mass to attend for this purpose.

The deed then goes on to add that later, on February 18, Nicholas Buchius, bursar of the monastery of Eberbach, took from the altar of the chapel of St. Anne two skulls which had on their *schedula* the inscription, *Dies Heüpt ist von der heiligen Schare der elfte dusent Jungfrauen*. It then states that this chapel of St. Anne is not in the monastery church, but in Mainz, "in Curia Dominorum Eberbacensium, vulgariter Fuss-Erbacher-Hoff denominata."<sup>2</sup> These skulls also were delivered to Brackelius for the Archbishop, in the presence again of summoned witnesses, namely, Nicholas de Odern-

<sup>1</sup> The *Plebanus* is the Parochus with cure of souls. The *Altarista* is an unbeneficed priest, who serves a particular altar, but is within the cure of some other ecclesiastic. Here we see a distinction between the professed monk, Dom Georg, and the two seculars, Brugger and Zehener. Probably the latter is, as we should say, Brugger's curate. Dom Georg is the person with the authority, and he calls the two clergy of the Eberbach village to be present and witness the transaction.

<sup>2</sup> In German usage, as may be seen from Du Cange's *Glossarium*, *Curia* means often nothing but a piece of landed property (much as Manor is used loosely in English). The *Domini Eberbachenses* are the Professed Cistercian monks of the Abbey, who form the corporation with rights. So this phrase means, not the palace of a noble house in the city of Mainz, but a piece of property or manor, belonging to the abbey, near to the city. Nicholas Serarius, *Moguntiacarum Rerum Libri v.* (Mainz, 1604), is practically contemporary with our deed, and gives a very detailed account of the churches of Mainz, but knows no chapel of St. Anne in the city, or any house belonging to Eberbach. We must seek this chapel, and the Fuss-Erbacher-Hoff a little distance outside the town; the latter a farm belonging to the abbey, and the former a *sacellum*, not a parish church, and in these times of Catholic decline, quite likely not regularly served. Serarius, *op. cit.*, p. 106, tells of the neglect into which the chapel of St. Aureus of Mainz, situate in buildings belonging to the Dalheim nunnery, had then fallen. Here again we are dealing with farm buildings belonging to a monastery, and having a chapel as part of the establishment. The chapel of St. Aureus was in complete disuse.

For this use of *Dominus* as the equivalent of *Monachus*, we may cite Gaspar Brusch, *De omnibus Germaniæ Episcopatibus* (1549), p. 18, describing Archbishop Theoderic as *pincerna et dominus ab Erbach*. For the use of *Curia* as the equivalent of manor or farm, may be cited V. F. de Gudenus, *Sylloge variorum Diplomatariorum* (Frankfurt, 1728), p. 507: "*Curia monasterii Erbachensis, Bircke vocata.*"

heim, a brother<sup>1</sup> of the abbey, and Jacobus Westerberg, described simply as of Cronburg.

Now it is to be observed that all this is actually testified by a Notary Public whose name never transpires. And this, with the absence of seal, shews that we are dealing with a copy. The reason for the making of a copy is clear. The group of relics sent to the Archbishop of Mainz was subsequently broken up, and the original went with one group and the copy with the other. That the Archbishop should levy relics on his own territory ought to mean that he wanted to make a gift. And it is therefore probable that the whole group passed from him to the Empress,<sup>2</sup> with the certificate from Eberbach. The giving of the German *schedula* in Gothic type suggests that the copy was made before leaving Prague, and that the Empress there divided the group. So the copy came on with the relics of Saints Geva, Aurelia and possibly one of the Ursuline virgins. There are no second certificates for Saints Gregory Thaumaturgus, Barbara, Roch, Vedast, or the Ursulines whose relics are in the wooden reliquary. With some, at least, of these acquisitions, the Empress must have had certificates. With regard to the first, if the gift was made by an Oriental to whom the Tridentine standards of certification were unknown, the absence of a deed is explained. In the case of Saints Barbara and Roch, both of which relics are likely to be the gift of the Venetian Republic, the accompanying document

<sup>1</sup> The lay brother in charge of the farm, and one of his men ?

<sup>2</sup> Brendel gave a handsome donation of relics to Maria in 1570 together with a deed of authentication under his own hand and seal. (Gudenus, *op. cit.*, pp. 684-686, gives the text.) The circumstances are thus stated: "Cum Serenissima Domina Maria, Romanorum Imperatrix semper Augusta . . . qua est insigni erga Dominum et Deum nostrum pietate, et erga sanctos ipsius præclara religione, apud nos institisset, ut venerabiles quasdam Sanctorum reliquias ex diocesi nostra per nos obtinere posset, Nos . . . . donavimus." The relics were enclosed "in vetusta quadam arcula ad illa omnia facta et margaritulis obsepta." A piece of our Lord's tunic among these relics was certified by the Emperor Manuel, who sent it to Margaret of Sweden in 1402. Gudenus gives the text of this, pp. 663-5.

Brendel's treatment of the gift certified by our deed is in contrast with the manner of donation in 1570, and the difference is explicable on grounds of haste.



is likely to have been of the nature of a personal letter to Maria, and this may explain its absence from the tin box.<sup>1</sup> In the other two cases we cannot tell why they should not have been handed over.

The Eberbach deed is of great interest, as giving an example of the most serious attempt to put the Tridentine principles into detailed practice.

The Cistercian abbey of Eberbach is and was famous. In the Middle Ages it had a great history as a religious house, while later days have known it as the place of the most wonderful champagne vineyards. It lies beside the Rhine, about ten miles out from Mainz, and this explains the day's interval between the two transactions. The abbot from 1571 to 1600 was Philip Sommer von Kiedrich, and our deed gives us the names of the Bursar and the Plebanus, or priest of the abbey parish. The Archbishop was Daniel Brendel von Homburg,<sup>2</sup> a Catholic stalwart of the older generation, who had held office since 1552. One of Portia's correspondents, in 1576, names him as first among the dependable Catholic leaders of Germany. Another in the next year speaks of him as *der alte kluge Mainzer Kurfürst*. He worked hand in hand with the reforming Abbot Balthasar of Fulda, and Elgard, Suffragan of Erfurt, and Papal Visitor, and supported the Jesuit college at Fulda. The Eberbach donation is so near in date to the Empress's departure from Prague that we may suppose Brendel to have obtained these relics for the purpose of a parting gift to one who had been so great a help to the cause in Germany. He died in the next year.

<sup>1</sup> We must keep at arm's-length the thought that the relics, to the people who gave and received them, *needed* authenticating. They are interested in the process as an expression of and incentive to piety. The Eberbach deed, from this point of view, was worth copying, because it was so edifying. With the other relics there was nothing of that sort. In the eyes of the people concerned, that was a purely negative disadvantage. Maria's deed by itself was quite adequate.

<sup>2</sup> For Brendel, see Max Lossen, *Kölnische Krieg*, p. 528 and *passim*. A portrait is given in Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, Bd. I., p. 107, and see for his relations with the Jesuits, *passim*. Serarius devotes pp. 913-951 of the work cited to a life of Archbishop Daniel, being himself a Father Theologian of the Mainz College under Brendel.

With regard to the circumstances of the gift of the relic of St. Barbara, we have some light from deed No. 30, which certified a relic of this Saint which was given to Borgia. This relic must either be in one of the big reliquaries covered by deeds Nos. 7 or 16, or it must be in the same reliquary as the big relic given by the Empress. In the former case, we should need to include this deed with the covering deeds of the Malaspina group. It is quite clear from the wording of the Venetian certificate that Borgia's relic was very small, and came to him enclosed in an elegant little case, suitable for something just kept for purposes of private devotion, but from which it would have to be taken for the "Recebimento." One of the big reliquaries with relics of virgin saints is the most probable final resting-place of this relic. The text of the deed is as follows:

Ego, Marcus Otthobonus, pro Serenissimo Ducali dominio Venetorum etc Secretarius apud Cæsaream Maiestatem; Universis et singulis præsentis litteras lecturis, visuris et audituris, notum facio quod, cum Serenissimi ejusdem dominii Dux partem quandem ex beatissimæ Divæ Barbaræ virginis et martyris corpore, quod summa reverentia in monasterio monialum sancti Johannis Evangelistæ de Torcello servatur, ad Clarissimum quondam Dominum Sigismundum de Cabellis, supradicti dominii ad Cæsarem Oratorem misisset eo ordine, ut illustrissimo domino, Don Johanni a Borjia, Regiæ Catholice Maiestatis Consiliario, et ad Cæsaream Maiestatem Oratori traderet, atque eodem Sigismundo interea temporis e vivis sublato, eadem Reliquiæ particula in tabernaculo argenteo ac inaurato posita, ad me fuisset delata, eandem speciali et expresso supradicti Serenissimi Ducis jussu et mandato, præfato Illustrissimo domino Johanni a Borjia integram, et prout illam acceperam, fideliter tradidi ultroque obtuli, Die xviii Septembris, MDLXXIX.

Cujus rei cum idem Illustrissimus Dominus aliquod a me sibi dari testimonii postularet, in horum omnium fidem patentes manu propria scriptas subsignavi, sigilloque sancti Marci affixione munivi.

Datum Pragæ, Die xxii, Decembris M D LXXIX.

MARCUS OTTHOBONUS,  
*Secretarius Venetus.*

L.S.

The seal exhibits the Lion of St. Mark.

We see here that it was not in the mind of the Venetians to supply such a deed, and they are not likely to have done so with regard to the relic they sent to Maria, though in this case there was no doubt a covering document of a complimentary character. Borgia had to ask for his certificate, and did not obtain it till three months after the gift of the relic. The relics of St. Barbara, at Torcello Island, some eight miles north of Venice, were famous, and reputed to be those that Justinian brought to Constantinople. The circumstances of this gift are revealed in letters of Cavalli<sup>1</sup> which survive in his ambassadorial letter file, in the Archivio Centrale at Venice. The letters as a whole show that Cavalli was continually agitated by fear that the close understanding between the imperial and Spanish courts should issue in ways prejudicial to the interests of Venice. He had his eyes on Borgia continually. On February 15, 1578, for instance, he tells how he heard that the Emperor was sending a gentleman into Spain. This threw him into such anxiety that he determined on a frontal attack, and went to see the Spanish ambassador. He does not seem to have got anything out of him, and had to content himself with impressing on Borgia his own "good service" of the Emperor. Spanish affairs in Flanders keep him very much occupied, and his references to the Spanish ambassador indicate that nothing was given away by that very discreet diplomat. One of the ways in which Borgia caused him anxiety was by his marked *entente* with the ambassador of Savoy. In short, Borgia and the Spanish dominance at the imperial court were the subject of the Venetian ambassador's continual care.

<sup>1</sup> Sigismondo Cavalli belonged to the titled family of Cavalli which came from Verona at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Franz Schroeder, *Famiglie nobili nelle provincie Venete*, 1830). He had previously served as ambassador to Savoy, 1564, to Spain, 1570, and to France, 1574. His reports to the Senate are published in Eugenio Alberi's *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Tom. II., III., and IV. The files at the Archivio Centrale at Venice contain the letters which the ambassadors sent at short intervals to the Doge, to keep him abreast of the political situation. Cavalli's letters begin with a number of lines of cipher, after which they take the form of personal letters. Cavalli's first letter from the imperial court is dated June 25, 1577.

It is this that gives the dramatic interest to the first passage directly affecting our subject. It is at the close of a letter of November 1, 1578, and runs:<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish Ambassador's lady, who is very intimate and lives all day long with the Empress, asked me in her Majesty's name to be so good as to ask your Serenity to give direction to whomsoever it may concern, and have sent to her a small relic from the body of St. Barbara, which she understands is in your illustrious city, as she entertains a special devotion towards the saint in question. And though such a matter is no doubt out of keeping with your Serenity's weighty occupations, nevertheless, since it is clear how much her Majesty desires it, she laid stress upon the matter, so that, as it seemed to her that it gratified the Empress in a matter that will please her very much, I should heed her request.

Cavalli's surprise at this advance of Doña Francesca is as evident as his concern that the Doge shall not overlook the importance of taking seriously a thing, trifling in itself, which affords an opportunity of obliging the Empress. Neither Cavalli nor the Doge were likely to appreciate Maria's real desire to have the relic, for the Catholicism of Venice was a thing of different spirit from the Catholicism of the counter-Reformation. But that would make them see, all the more certainly, a significant gesture in this request. And the course of events did not belie such an interpretation. The early months of 1579 witnessed a sudden and most welcome change in the relations of the Republic and the Empire, which for six years had been very strained.<sup>2</sup> The breakdown of frontier

<sup>1</sup> L'ambasciatrice di Spagna, molto domestica e che tutto il giorno vive colla Serenissima Imperatrice, m'ha richiesto a nome di Sua Majesta che voglia pregar Vossa Serenita ordinar a cui si aspetta, accio l'esser mandato un poco di reliquia del corpo di Santa Barbara, che intende esser in quella inclita citta, havendo lei molto devotione nella dita santa. E se bene tal cosa e aliena assai dalle gravissime occupatione di Vossa Serenita, tuttavia essendo fatto certo quanto grandamente Sua Majesta la desidera, mi e particolareggiata, accio che parendo a lei di compiacere l' Imperatrice in cosa che le sara gratissima, io intend (essi) la sua richiesta.

<sup>2</sup> For this situation see the contemporary Venetian historians, Lazaro Soranzo, *L'Ottomanno* (1607), p. 104 ff., and Paolo Sarpi, *Storia degli*

negotiations in 1573 had been followed, on the side of Venice, by increasing irritation at the failure of Rudolph to keep in order his subjects on the Adriatic seaboard. The Uscocchi pirates of Zengg, besides giving infinite trouble to the Venetian fleet of control in the Adriatic, were liable at any moment to provoke Turkish maritime interference in waters which Venice claimed to be hers alone. To crown all, in 1578 the inhabitants of Trieste, in contravention of the Venetian treaty-monopoly in salt, started to construct salt-pans. The Podestà of the Capo d'Istria and the admiral commanding the control fleet had instant orders from the Senate, a landing was made, and the new works were destroyed.

In view of such unsatisfactory happenings there is no wonder that Cavalli showed such anxiety during 1578. But in this he was by no means alone. The Vatican shared the anxiety, since its continual labour was for a union of Catholic Powers against the Turk, and war between Venice and the empire would be a catastrophe. It would be certain, therefore, that the Empress would be pressed to use her extreme efforts for conciliation. The movement for peace first took form in a proposal, broached to Cavalli and then communicated to Veit Dorimberg, the imperial ambassador at Venice, that some of the German princes should pay a semi-official visit to Venice.<sup>1</sup> The proposal was well received by Nicolo da Ponte, who had become Doge in the year 1578, and early next year Archduke Ferdinand, uncle to Rudolph, and Archduke Maximilian, his cousin, with two other German princes, arrived and were entertained in Venice. They were given opportunity to reopen the boundary negotiations, and in all respects the tension was, for the time being, very much relieved.

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*Uscocchi*, in a French translation in Amelot de la Houssaie, *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, Tom. II. (1695).

Giovanni Nicolo Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana* (1598), pp. 925-932. (This writer lays emphasis on the great eagerness of Venice at this time to maintain the most favourable relations with all Christian neighbours, in view of the Turkish menace. He even sees signs of this in the affair of Bianca Capello, 1580.)

Alessandro Maria Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, Pt. II. (1684), pp. 303-6.

<sup>1</sup> See Andrea Morosini, in Tom. VI. (1719) of *Degl' istorici delle coze Veneziane*, p. 660 and *passim*.

In a letter of February 10 of this year, Cavalli writes:<sup>1</sup>

The Empress has pressed me again to ask your Serenity that she may obtain some portion of the relics of St. Barbara for her personal devotion, and it will certainly be a great comfort to her Majesty when she can have it.

Evidently the Doge's letters had not explicitly noticed the previous November's request. But matters had been going forward, and in due course there arrived at Prague not only a relic of St. Barbara for the Empress, but also one for the Spanish ambassador. But meanwhile Cavalli had passed away. Illness that caused him to beg to be succeeded in a letter of June 15 grew steadily worse, and he died on September 15, a week after his last despatch. The duties of the embassy thus fell upon the Secretary, Marco Ottobono, and among them, that of delivering the relics, which he discharged three days after his chief's death. He belonged to a citizen family of Venice that supplied many holders of offices of state, and was finally ennobled.<sup>2</sup> An elder contemporary, Leonardo, had been Secretary under Cavalli in Spain, and was later to be the second of the family to reach the high office of *Secretario del consiglio di diece*. In the next generation another Marco was to hold that office, and raise the status of the family to nobility. Our Marco served under the new ambassador at Prague, Alberto Badoero, who arrived on November 18, 1579. In 1590 he went to more responsible duties as Secretary at Dantzic.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the St. Barbara relics afford a specially good example of the close relation between gifts of relics and the personal relations of giver and receiver. The Venetian Republic continued to look upon the Empress as an assured friend, and when she was returning to Spain in 1581,<sup>4</sup> and wished, out of

<sup>1</sup> L' Imperatrice m'ha fatto nova instantia che voglia pregar Vossa Serenita accio che possa haver qualche parte della reliquia di Santa Barbara per sua particular devotione, e certo Sua Majesta ne stara molto consolata quando la potesse haver.

<sup>2</sup> See G. N. Doglioni, *Historia Venetiana*, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> See A. M. Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, Pt. II., p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Doglioni, *op. cit.*, p. 939.

devotion to St. Anthony, to visit Padua, four leading senators were sent to meet her when she entered Venetian territory, and give her the most honourable hospitality until she left it.

The chapter may suitably be concluded by a notice of a further enrichment of the treasure of São Roque which was derived indirectly from Rudolph and Maria. It is testified by our deed No. 56, which is in Latin, drawn in Rome "in Pallatio Apostolico et Camera dicta Archivorum nostrorum" over the signature of Francis Selher, (?) *Scriptor* to the *Camera Archivorum*. The year is 1588, and the relics are numerous and small. A majority are from the catacombs, but the rest had belonged to the Emperor and Empress, who gave them to the Jesuits at Prague in 1580. The witness to this donation is a certain *Dominus Elisæus*, a cleric of Lisbon, who was at Prague at the time of the donation. In all probability he was the agent of the transaction, and was to carry the whole collection covered by Selher's certificate home to Lisbon for São Roque. Selher apparently takes his evidence with regard to the Prague relics, so that he can issue one certificate for the whole consignment. Elisæus had perhaps brought the Prague relics from the Jesuit Fathers there, and received the Roman relics through the Roman *Professa*, being in some way closely associated with the Jesuit Society though not a member of it. It seems likely that the Jesuits at Rome played a considerable part in arranging distribution of supplies of relics to the houses of the Society, and the provision of certificates by Roman notaries.

## CHAPTER IX

### OTHER "RECEBIMENTO" DOCUMENTS

THERE are four remaining documents in the tin box which connect with the "Recebimento." The first of these is a further authentication that shows Borgia in a very pleasant light, since it testifies the regard in which he was held by a squire in his service. It is our deed No. 1, and concerns the relic of St. Procopius, which was carried on the second litter in a silver-gilt reliquary with an oval window. It is a composite document. On one big parchment there is, first of all, a finely written deed in which Martin Pesser, a priest at the cathedral at Prague, gives the relic to one Florian de Lugo. This is signed and sealed by Pesser. Then, underneath, the Nuncio Malaspina has written a note of confirmation of Pesser's certificate, and attached his seal. Then, right at the bottom of the sheet, Florian de Lugo certifies over his own mark and seal that he has given the relic to his master, Don Juan de Borja.

Pesser's deed states that he, Martinus Pesserijs, presbyter of the Metropolitan church of Prague, has given the relic to Florian de Lugo, on account of his devotion to the saints, and also to the intent that, as the Israelites, when they went up from Egypt, carried with them the bones of the Patriarchs,<sup>1</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> This was apparently a current commonplace. Thus a certificate issued by Abbot Hermann of St. Godehart's, Hildesheim, when giving the skull of St. Lullus of Mainz to the Jesuit College at Mainz in 1603, commences:

Quemadmodum olim populus Israeliticus Sancti Patriarchæ Joseph ossa ex Ægypto, ubi ultra trecentos annos quieverant, diligenti cura in terram sanctam absportavit, decenterque condidit; ita et meum et cujuslibet Christifidelis officium esse semper arbitratus sum, ut sanctorum Deo placentium preciosas reliquias hoc infelici seculo ab hæreticorum injuria contemptuque pro viribus vendicemus et eripiamus. He goes on to tell how this relic was cast out of the church of St. Elizabeth at Hildesheim by heretics, and how the monks found it lying, unharmed, in the churchyard *antiquis adhuc involucris tectum* (Serarius, *op. cit.*, pp. 612-613).



might have holy relics to carry home to Spain; he promising to procure that they should ever receive the cult due to them; this bone of St. Procopius, confessor, Patron of the kingdom of Bohemia, commemorated on July 4. The bone is "longitudinem spithamæ ferme exæquans." Pesser continues with the history, "three hundred and twenty years ago, this relic<sup>1</sup> was given, by Ottacar, King of Bohemia, to the abbey of our Lady of Ossek, *per medium egregii Domini Borso*, its founder." This, he says, he has read in the records. At Ossek the relic was reverently preserved by the Cistercian monks. And now he

*ex puro meroque caritatis Christianæ zelo ac eodem plane affectu, quo illud a prædicti monasterii Præfecto, nuper mihi gratiose impartitum acceperam; eidem Domino Florianio benefeci, quoque et liberaliter dedi atque donavi.*

The date is 1581, *Sabbatho ante Dominicam in Passioni*. On the left is the signature *Martinus Pesserijs ab Hasdaell*, and on the right, his family seal, with the arms of Hasdael, in a shaped tin case attached to the parchment by a bright green silk cord. The Malaspina seal is in the middle below. Then Florian's declaration is subjoined, and is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

I, the aforementioned Florian de Lugo, declare that I have given the said relic of St. Procopius the abbat named in the deed of authentication, to Don Juan de Borja my master, Chief Chamberlain to the Empress' Majesty. And forasmuch as this is the truth, I have signed it with my hand, and sealed it with my seal, in Madrid, the sixteenth day of July, 1587.

<sup>1</sup> Borgia's carrying off of specifically Bohemian relics did not escape the notice of Bohemian churchmen. Bohuslas Balbinus, *Epitome rerum Bohemicarum* (1677), p. 605, notes that the collection of relics given by Borgia to São Roque included the Bohemian saints Adalbert, Wenceslaus, Procopius, Ludmilla and Benigna.

<sup>2</sup> Yo, el suso dicho Florian de Lugo, confesso que la dicha reliquia de Sanct Procopio, Abbad, en este testimonio contenida, io he dado a don Juan de Borja, mi Señor, Mayordomo mayor de la Magestad de la Emperatriz, y porque assi es verdad, lo firme de mi mano y selle con mi sello, en Madrid, a diez y seis dias del mes de Julio, de mil y quinientos y ochenta y siete anos.

(Mark),  
FLORIAN DE LUGO.  
L.S.

Underneath, the scribe has written Florian's name against the cross that he traced in ink, and he has sealed below. Thus, while the master received relics from great officers of Church and State, we see the esquire being given one quite precious relic by a priest friend and neighbour in Little Prague, like himself of *armiger* rank. And then when his master proposes to give up his great treasure of relics to the devotion of the faithful in a church (at the time de Lugo made his donation, the plan was just made to give them to the church of São Roque), the esquire gives up his one relic to go with the rest.

St. Procopius<sup>1</sup> was a priest of Prague who took to the hermit life, and became the founder of the abbey of Sazawa, in Central Bohemia. He died in 1053, and promptly received popular cultus, and finally was recognised as a patron of the kingdom. In particular, Little Prague was placed under his patronage by Przemysl Ottacar I. His body remained at Sazawa, but relics from it were distributed. Carlstein, for instance, had one, "*circiter palmi longitudine*." The Bollandists note that the authenticity of this relic is established by comparing it with what is missing from the remains of the Saint.

Pesser tells us that Ottacar gave our relic, also, to the Cistercian abbey of Osseck or Ossegg,<sup>2</sup> near Teplitz, at the foot of the Erzgebirge, due south of Dresden. This fact was not known to the Bohemian Cistercian, and historian of the revival of his Order in Bohemia, Augustine Sartorius, who knew, however, that the people of Ossegg invoked St. Procopius, still, against hail. Pesser is wrong in his date, however. He makes the gift of the relic to Ossegg take place in 1260. He is clearly thinking of the victory of Ottacar II., in that year, at Kressenbrun, over Bela of Hungary, when it was said that Procopius had appeared with other patron saints of Bohemia, and helped the Bohemians to victory. But the king who promoted the canonisation of St. Procopius, and helped the foundation of

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, July 4.

<sup>2</sup> For Osseck, see A. Sartorius, *Cistercium Bis-tertium* (Prague, 1700), pp. 1007-25.

Aubertus Miræus, *De rebus Bohemicis*, p. 81.

Ossegg by Borso von Risemberg, was Ottacar I. Ossegg was founded in 1193, received a royal charter in 1203, and received the relics, no doubt, immediately after the canonisation in 1204.

In the Hussite troubles of the fifteenth century, Sazawa was laid waste, and Ossegg very badly affected. In 1580, on the death of Abbot Balthasar of Ossegg, Archbishop Anton Brus von Müglitz of Prague obtained papal licence to disperse the remaining handful of monks at Ossegg to other houses, and appropriate the estate to the archiepiscopal revenues.<sup>1</sup> It seems fairly safe to conclude that Pesser had been employed by the Archbishop in the business of appropriation of the property at Ossegg, had had negotiations with the *Præfectus* (the senior monk, no doubt, left in charge after Balthasar's death), and had read the deeds and papers in the abbey chests. So he both saw the proof of the authentic history of the relic, and was able to obtain it for himself. But already Catholic revival was begun. The tomb of the Saint among the ruins of Sazawa was discovered by Brus' successor, Martin Medek (1581-1590), and in 1588 the remains of St. Procopius were solemnly translated to Prague, and laid up there in the church of All Saints in the presence of a brilliant gathering, which included Rudolph and Baron von Pernstein. At the subsequent restoration of Ossegg, three relics were rediscovered, and also *schedulæ*, showing them to be of members of the Theban legion. Otherwise it would seem that Pesser, and the dispersed monks, cleared the building. And Pesser's phrase about de Lugo going off to Spain with the relic, like an Israelite going up out of Egypt, suggests that he thought his own heresy-infected land was an Egypt by comparison with Catholic Spain. His gloom was misplaced, because the cause of Catholicism was just on the mend.

Squire Florian was perhaps charged with the business of seeing his master's six big reliquaries certified at the Nuncio's

<sup>1</sup> For the part played by the Archbishops, see Anton Frind, *Die Geschichte der Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Prag* (1873), pp. 182-192.

A. Miræus, *op. cit.*, p. 59, "Archiepiscopus Antonius . . . monasteria duo, Ossicense et Schurvecense archiepiscopatu conjungenda curavit."

palace, and so took opportunity to get the Nuncio's hand and seal on his own deed.

On the whole, it appears that the relics of the historic saints of Bohemia had been carefully enough regarded to make the chance of authenticity very high.

With this concludes the survey of the certificates which Borgia sent to Lisbon. But de Campos tells us that on the fourth litter in the "Recebimento" procession was carried a silver cross of twenty-four marcos of silver, and three and a half palms height, richly ornamented. It was worked in relief, and part gilt. There were fourteen gold rings round it, adorned with pearls, and the foot was ornamented in the same fashion. At the centre of the cross were crystal windows allowing one to see what was within, to wit, a little cross made of wood of the True Cross, mounted on a gold Calvary. This, however, was not part of Borgia's donation, but had been sent from Rome by the General, Father Claudius Aquaviva, who wished it to be received into São Roque on this solemn occasion. In spite of the date, our lists show that deed No. 78 must be the authentication of this relic. It was evidently asked for by Father Jorge Serrão five years before the "Recebimento," and nothing indicates that it was not sent at once. But presumably to honour Borgia, Aquaviva chose to treat his gift as not having been yet properly given,<sup>1</sup> and caused it to be carried in procession with Borgia's collection, so that the General associated himself in an explicit way with the ceremony. The text of the deed as is follows:

Claudius Aquaviva, Societatis Jesu Præpositus Generalis, Universis et singulis præsentis litteras inspecturis, salutem in eo qui est vera Salus.

Cum sacris omnibus reliquiis cultus omnis ac veneratio debetur, tum vero sanctissimum Dominicæ Crucis lignum præcipuo honore ac multo maximæ præ ceteris devotione suscipiendum

<sup>1</sup> Manoel de Campos, "Recebimento," f. 13b, says of this relic, that it had not so far been exposed to public view. O qual tinha mandado o muito Reverendo Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Geral di Companhia, á casa di São Roque, e por não se ter ainda publicada, se ajuntou a este novo tesouro de reliquias, pera com ellas se receber solemnemente.

et colendum est, a quo videlicet tanquam instrumento salutem ac redemptionem nostram omnes agnoscimus, quodque, non solum olim vero Christi Domini contactu consecratum, ejusdemque divino sanguine purpuratum est, sed nunc etiam, ut ait sanctus Bernardus, semper vitam germinat, fructificat jucunditatem, oleum lætitiæ stillat, et balsamum sudat spiritualium charismatum.

Cum igitur duas ejus particulas in crucis parvæ formam compositas, ad instantiam Georgii Serrani nostræ Societatis sacerdotis, Ulyssiponem mitteremus, in nostra Sancti Rocchi ecclesia collocandas, quo omnibus constaret, semper id habitum esse ut verum sanctæ Crucis lignum, hoc præsentibus litteris confirmari ac testificari volumus;

Ipsam insuper JESUM Christum Salvatorem nostrum obsecrantes ut quemadmodum in hoc salutari ligno pendens, per ipsum, vitam et gratiam mundo conferre voluit, ita nunc per idem illud eidem etiam immensa sua bonitate, omnibus qui ejus præsentia fruuntur, donorum ac benedictionum suarum abundantiam impertiri dignetur.

Datum Romæ Kalendis Februarii, MDLXXXIII.



IHS

CLAUDIUS AQUAVIVA.

JACOBUS XIMENES, *Secretarius*.

The deed is written in Ximenes' hand.<sup>1</sup> Jacobus Ximenes was a Spaniard, born in 1530, and received into the Society in 1558, who became secretary to Aquaviva, at his appointment as General (February 19, 1581) and continued in that office until April of 1594. He died at Rome in 1596. He had edited Aquaviva's *Directorium Exercitiorum*.

Jorge Serrão was at this time assistant to Fonseca as Provincial of Portugal. But from our deed it appears that he visited Rome in 1583. This followed on his handing over of the office of Preposito of São Roque to Fonseca, who was to have been replaced by him in the Assistencia of Portugal at Rome had his health not failed. After his sufficient recovery and relief from his responsibilities at São Roque, we may suppose that he was called to see the General, and took the opportunity

<sup>1</sup> For Ximenes, see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, s.n.  
Serrão, see p. 53, note; Fonseca, see p. 61, note.

to plead for this addition to the treasure of São Roque. And Aquaviva, it appears, was minded to be very gracious to the great Lisbon house of his Society.

Our deed No. 81 is not a certificate at all, but a copy of a letter from Aquaviva to Borgia, dated June 16, 1587. Ximenes signs it below Aquaviva, as in the case of the certificate. What Aquaviva says may be summarised as follows:

"Our Society acknowledges its great indebtedness to you for your gift to São Roque of so precious a collection of relics. We acknowledge also your payment for the saying of Masses for the departed of your family, and your request that your own body may rest in the church of São Roque. We are glad to assent, and undertake that Masses shall ever be said by our priests, while *Coronæ* and *Rosaria* are recited by the brethren. Also there shall be a tomb within the chancel of São Roque, for you, for the Lady Francesca d'Aragon, your children and successors, and we pledge ourselves that no one else shall be entombed in that place."

A Borgia vault was built forming a crypt under the whole area of the chancel. This was opened during alterations in 1894, and found to be one undivided vaulted chamber, with five *loculi*, three in the wall facing the entrance stair, and one in each side wall. The bones of Don Juan lay in one of the former, facing the staircase. The other two in that wall were empty. The right-hand *loculus* had traces of lime and some bones, while the left-hand one seemed to have been used to stow away a large number of bones collected from elsewhere. A leaden *lamina* was found, with the inscription:<sup>1</sup>

In this coffin is the body of Don João de Boria [*sic*], first Conde de Ficalho, that was laid to rest in this chancel on March 14, 1613.

Now he died in the Escorial on September 3, 1606, and therefore his remains must have lain first in a vault there, before Doña Francesca sent them, under escort of Fernando de Mattos,

<sup>1</sup> Esta nesta caixa o corpo de D. Io de Boria, 1º Conde de Ficalho o qual foi colocado nesta Sa Capella Mor em 14 de Março de 1613. (V. Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa*, p. 197.)

a Secretary of State at Madrid, to be deposited where Borgia himself had wished them to lie. It would seem, from the 1894 discoveries, that no other burials took place under the agreement in our document. And there is no reason to suppose that the Jesuits were responsible for the placing of alien bones in that vault.

A stone over the marble credence on the Gospel side of the chancel in São Roque, bears an inscription<sup>1</sup> saying

This chancel belongs, for burial, to Don João de Borja, First Count of Ficalho, and Member of the King's Council of State, Chief Chamberlain to the Empress, and to Doña Margarita d'Austria, the Queen; and to Doña Francesca d'Aragão his wife, and to his sons and descendants. His body lies beneath the high altar. He died in Royal St. Lawrence (the Escorial), September 3rd, 1606.

These privileges show how very seriously the donation was appreciated by the Society.

Our last document, deed No. 83, is the papal grant of Jubilee, given in connection with the donation. The fact that the feast of the Invention of the Cross should be one of the four days of Jubilee suggests that Aquaviva is the person through whom the privilege was obtained. It is not by accident, perhaps, that the other three days correspond to the chief relics presented by the Emperor, the Empress, and (if we take the great collection of Ursuline relics as his own main contribution) Don Juan de Borgia. The text is as follows:

#### SIXTUS, P.P. V.

Dilecte fili, Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Tuis, ac præcipue charissimæ in Christo filiæ Mariæ Romanorum Imperatricis precibus inclinati, nonnullas sanctorum reliquias tibi auctoritate hujus sanctæ Sedis a diversis Romanis Pontificibus concessas, quas in tuâ capellâ honorifice et reverenter

<sup>1</sup> Esta capella he de D. João de Borja, 1º Conde de Ficalho, do conselho destado del Rei N.S., Mordomo mor da Emperatris D. Maria e da Rainha D. Margarida d'Austria Pera seu enterro e da Condessa sua Molher D. Francesca de Aragão. E de seus Filhos e descendentes. Esta seu corpo debaixo do Altar mor faleceo em S. Lourenço, o Real, a 3 de Setembro de 1606 (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

custodis, inter quas, ut asseris, adsunt caput sanctæ Brigidæ, sancti Gregorii Tamanturgi [*sic*], ac nonnullæ sanctarum undecim millium virginum reliquiæ, et ex ligno sanctissimæ crucis pro majori illarum veneratione et devotione ad ecclesiam sancti Rocchi civitatis Ulixbonensis domus professæ Societatis Jesu, in qua maxima est Christifidelium frequentia, honorifice transferendi, et collocandi licentiam et facultatem concedimus, et impartimur.

Et ad augendam eorundem fidelium devotionem, et postquam reliquiæ prædictæ in eadem ecclesia sancti Rocchi collocata fuerint, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis, sacraque communione refectis, qui ecclesiam sancti Rocchi prædictam diebus festivitatum sanctæ Brigidæ, Undecim Millium Virginum, Beati Gregorii Tamanturgi, ac Inventionis Sanctissimæ Crucis, a primis vespris usque ad occasum solis dierum horum singulis annis devote visitaverint, et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, ac hæresium extirpatione, sanctæque matris ecclesiæ pias ad Deum preces effuderint,

Plenarium omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus et elargimur. Datum Romæ, apud sanctum Marcum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die V Septembris, MDLXXXVII, Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

THO. THOMAS GUALTERUTRIUS.

The poor Monsignore Gualterucci was not to use the Ring of the Fisherman to many more documents after this, his name disappearing from the *Bullarium* from December 1 of this same year. A very regrettable scandal took place with regard to this same ring.<sup>1</sup> The Pope's favourite butler, Bellocchi, was doing so well that he bought a fine property in the country. But being unable to persuade the owner of a neighbouring house to sell to him, he produced a document under the ring ordering the owner to come to terms. The Pope sent him and Gualterucci to the galleys, and not even the intercession of cardinals and of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors availed to save Gualterucci. Pastor, following

<sup>1</sup> Antonio Cicarelli, *Vita Sixti*, in B. Platina, *Le vite de Pontefici*, Tom. II. (1666), p. 719.

Gregorio Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.* (1669), Pt. II., pp. 287-290.



Cicarelli, and so ultimately Gregorio Leti, has misplaced this incident into the year 1586.<sup>1</sup> Our deed and the *Bullarium* published in 1588 show that it cannot have taken place till the end of 1587, and Marcello Vestrio Barbiano begins to sign in February, 1588.

The coining of the surname *Tamanturgus* in the Roman chancery is eloquent testimony of the ignorance of the Western Church at this time of the Saint of Neocæsarea. It is to be noted that the name of the recipient of the decree is missing. Evidently the paper in the tin box is only a copy, the original resting in the hands, no doubt, of the addressee. This must be Borgia, since the deed constitutes his faculty for removing the relics. He must have made application, supported by a letter of Maria. And if the inference made from the Holy Cross indulgence is right, the actual business at Rome will have been negotiated by Aquaviva. Their relations were intimate, as correspondence shows.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The mistake in the date enables the historians to pile on one more to the instances of Sixtus' severity at the beginning of his reign. When this outstanding instance of firmness is put a year later, it sets Sixtus in a more favourable light. Whatever be the facts about Gualterucci's complicity in the use of the Ring for an improper purpose, the high responsibility of the secretary in this matter does seem to justify an exemplary punishment. The Pope, replying to those who pleaded for leniency that there had been an offence, not against him but against the Church, seems to have some reason on his side.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, a letter of Aquaviva to Borgia in 1604, telling of the deplorable state into which the affairs of the Society were fallen.

## CHAPTER X

### ACCESSIONS IN THE 1590's

AFTER the "Recebimento," four years passed before the next gift, which is, however, one of the most interesting of all. The text of the Portuguese authentication, made for the purpose of adding the relic to the treasure of São Roque and numbered in the tin box as deed No. 67, runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

I, Diogo de Cysneros, of the Company of Jesus, declare that while I was in Rome, I had from Monsignor Alexander, who

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese text.

Digo eu Diogo de Cysneros, da Companhia de Jesu, que estando en Roma, ouve de Misier Alexandre, que foi ali archiprete da igreja de S. Hieronimo dos Sclavonios na mesma cidade, hum dedo polegar da mão esquerda do glorioso S. Basilio, o qual elle ouve em Constantinopla, como consta da carta com que m'o mandou, cujo treslado em portugez porei aqui, para todos melhor o entender e ler que me escreveo em italiano, como se vera da propria que ficara com este meu testemunho, acostada a elle.

Muito Reverendo Padre en Christo observandissimo. Lhe mando a principal Reliquia que trouxe do oriente, aonde fui mandado por visitator e legado apostolico do papa Gregorio xiii, quando tive por companheiro o P. Thomaso Raggio da companhia de Jesu. Mando, digo, a Vossa Reverencia, o dedo polegar de mão esquerda de S. Basilio, o qual me foi dado de dous Arcebispos de Efeso e de Cæsarea, os quaes erão de Candia e irmãos carnões, quando vierão a Constantinopla de Cæsarea, no qual Constantinopla eu então estava. Estes dous irmãos Arcebispos, eu os tinha por Catholicos, e tinham estados em Roma, e o de Efeso foi mandado do dito papa Gregorio ao patriarcha Hieremias de Constantinopla para tratar algumas cousas com elle. A.C.

E querendo eu dar esta santa Reliquia a nosa casa de S. Rochi para nela constar mais que tem ser venerada com a devida reverencia, o Padre Manoel de Sequeira, preposto da mesma casa, fazendo junta de alguns padres theologos (entre os quaes eu me achei) acentou com seu parecer que devia propor ao Senhor Dom Miguel, Arcebispo desta Cidade de Lixboa, que conforme ao sagrado Conc. Trid. quizesse aprovar.

E indo eu a Isso com o Padre Manoel da Costa, Sua Signoria lendo parte do original da carta, e ouvindo a confirmação que lhe dei, pleno elle a aprovou e reverenciou como a tal, tocando tambem com ella o doutor Francisco Rebelo, conego de Lixboa, que ali presente se achou. E foi feito aos 3 de Setembro de 92. E por tudo assim passar na verdade e ao diante ficar desto a memoria que convem, me parecia deixar por escrito estalembança, feita e asinada por mim, oje 5º do dito mes de Setembro de 92 anos.

DIOGO DE CYSNEROS.

had been there as Archpriest of the church of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni in the same city, the thumb of the left hand of the glorious St. Basil. He obtained it in Constantinople, as appears in the letter which he sent me with it, which I set out here translated into Portuguese, so that all may the better read and understand the things that he wrote to me in Italian, as will be seen from the original which will be kept with this certificate of mine, folded beside it.

“Very Reverend and worshipful Father in Christ, I send you the principal relic that I brought from the East, whither I was sent as Visitor and Apostolic Legate of Pope Gregory XIII., my companion being Father Thomaso Raggio of the Company of Jesus. I send your Reverence, as I say, the thumb of the left hand of St. Basil, which was given to me by two archbishops, of Ephesus and of Cæsarea, who hailed from Crete and were brothers by blood, as they came to Constantinople from Cæsarea, and I was in Constantinople at the time. These two brother archbishops I took to be Catholics. They had also been in Rome, and he of Ephesus had been sent by Pope Gregory aforesaid to Patriarch Jeremias of Constantinople, to treat of certain matters with him. A.C.”

And as I wished to give this holy Relic to our house of São Roque, so that it might receive greater veneration than it had heretofore, according to the reverence which it deserves, Father Manoel de Sequeira, Preposito of that house, formed a committee of some Fathers-theologian (I being one), and affirmed his view that the right course was to propose the relic to Dom Miguel, Archbishop of this city of Lisbon, with request for his approbation of it, in accordance with the holy Council of Trent. So I went to my Lord, with Father Manoel da Costa, and His Grace read part of the original letter, and listened to the confirmation that I gave him, and so gave it his full approbation, himself venerating it as a true relic, and then extending it to Doctor Francisco Rebelo, Canon of Lisbon, who chanced to be there at the time [*tocando com ella* should mean that he touched some part of his person, lips, brow or breast with it]. This took place on the 3rd of September, 1592. And seeing that all things were honourably done, and so that there may ever remain a due memorial of the matter, I have thought it right to leave this written memorandum, made and signed by me, this 5th of September, in the year 92.

DIOGO DE CYSNEROS.

The original letter which de Cysneros here quotes<sup>1</sup> is a very badly written note on a piece of ordinary paper. The conclusion of the letter is so faded and illegible that de Cysneros may be excused for having cut short his translation, perfectly good as far as it goes. What follows is a formal complimentary phrase. "Wherewith I pray God to grant my dear and kind friend a prosperous journey." The date is "From Jader, this 18th day of February, 1591," and the letter concludes, "Your very reverend worship's most affectionate, the abbot Comuli." Underneath the signature, in a script so tiny and faded that certainty is out of the question, is some qualification. It might be *Sti Hieronymi*. On the back of the letter, someone has written in Portuguese,<sup>2</sup> "Concerning the thumb of St. Basil, that Father Xisneiros gave to this house, the authentication of the same is in the sacristy." The letter has been numbered as deed No. 39 by Sr. Ribeiro, in the contents of the tin box.

The chief interest of all this is in the light it throws upon the activities of that remarkable person, Alexander Komulovic,<sup>3</sup> the Dalmatian priest who served the Vatican as a

<sup>1</sup> Italian text:

Molto Reverendo Padre in Christo osservantissimo. Io mando la principal reliquia che ho portata dal Oriente, dove fui mandato visitatore et legato apostolico da Papa Gregorio XIII. allora che hebbi per compagno il P. Thomaso Raggio della Compagnia de Jesu. Mando, dico, a V.S., il dito grosso della man sinistra de S. Basilio, il quale mi fu dato dalli due Arcivescovi di Efesso e di Casarea, li quali erano Candiotti, fratelli *secundum carnem*, quando che vennero a Constantinopoli da Casarea—dove, in Constantinopoli io mi rimanevo.

Quelli due fratelli Arcivescovi, io li havevo et tenevo Catolici. Et erano stati in Roma. Un, qual d'Efesso, fu mandato dal deto Papa Gregorio al Patriarca Heremias di Constantinopoli, per trattare alcune cose. Con che io prego (da Dio) il felice viaggio (all' amico amatissimo et clemente).

Da Jader (questo dì) li xviii di Febraro, 1591.

Di V.S. m. Rdo.

AFFETUOSO ABBATE COMULI.

NOTE.—The words within brackets are only guessed, the writing being to me there illegible.

<sup>2</sup> Do dedo de São Basilio que deu ho Padre Xisneiros a esta casa desto mesmo no sacrario testemunho.

<sup>3</sup> For Komulovic, see the studies by P. Pierling, S.J., *L. Komulovica, Izvjestaj i Listovi*, and *Novi Izvori o L. Komulovicu* (1882 and 1885 respectively). The summary of the matter is accessible to Western readers in his *Papes et Tsars, 1547-1597* (Paris, 1890), last two chapters.

diplomatic agent in Russia and the Near East. Born in 1548 of a good Slav family in Spalato, he appears in 1576 among the clergy of San Girolamo degli Schiavi at Rome, the church of the South Slavs. By 1584 he was also a Canon of Zara or Jader on the Dalmatian coast, and a domestic chaplain to Cardinal Santori, when he was called upon by Gregory XIII. to undertake a special mission. Safe-conducts had been obtained by the Vatican for him and the Jesuit Raggio to cross Turkey in Europe, on a visitation of the congregations of the Latin rite scattered through the Balkans. The two missionaries landed at Alessio, and made their way up to Sofia, and then down to Constantinople, returning direct in 1585.<sup>1</sup> Their visitation duties were quite genuine, but not their sole interest. The intimate purpose of Gregory XIII. was to obtain a union of Christian states to launch a new Crusade, and drive the Turk out of Europe. Komulovic and Raggio kept their eyes and ears open, thinking of the war that might be drawing near. And the more they saw and heard, the higher grew their excitement. For the Sultan had engaged upon a campaign against the Persians, and the missionaries, as they made their way up to Sofia, saw clearly that the country had been denuded of garrisons for the sake of the Persian war. Komulovic therefore wrote an urgent letter<sup>2</sup> from Sofia to Jeronimo Graciano, Provincial of the new Discalced Province of the Carmelite Order, telling how ripe the time was for Christendom to strike. Passing on to Constantinople, they spent the winter in ministering to Latin prisoners in the Turkish prisons.

Thomaso Raggio<sup>3</sup> (or Radius, as he sometimes signs), Komu-

<sup>1</sup> The story of this journey is given in the *Historia Societatis*, Pt. V., Tom. I., pp. 170-172. For other sources, see Pastor, *Gregor XIII.*, p. 716.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the letter is published in Eusebius Fermendzin's *Acta Bosniæ* (1892), pp. 337-8 (*Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, Tom. XXIII.).

<sup>3</sup> For Raggio, see Sotwell, *Bibliotheca*, s.n.

L. v. Pastor, *Gregor XIII.*, pp. 172, 741, gives further details. He had help from the Venetian Republic for a mission in 1574.

He came to distinction in the Society early, for he wrote an Epistle-general to the Society on January 30, 1563, on matters of internal order, under licence from the Rector of the Roman college.

lovic's companion, was well qualified for the position. A Nolanese, professed in 1557, and moved to the Roman College as a Lecturer in Philosophy in 1563, he joined the Venetian fleet as a chaplain in 1570, and was present at the victory of Lepanto. He was then on various missions, including one to the Maronite Patriarch in Lebanon, under authority from Cardinal Carafa. It appears, in this, that he was learned both in Hebrew and Arabic.

The two men were therefore well able to use their chances of getting in touch with Oriental Christian authorities. Rome was interested, here, from two points of view. The possibilities of reunion, by the submission of any of the harassed Oriental Christian communities to Roman discipline, were now great. Even the Ecumenical Patriarch had to look wistfully at an alliance that would strengthen him in dealing with the Turkish Government. Naturally, hopes at Rome ran high, that the old schism might be healed. And the attitude of the Oriental Christians in case the Catholic states attacked Turkey was a second matter of concern to the Vatican. We cannot tell how much the Roman emissaries let the Oriental Orthodox leaders know of Roman intentions. But there was certainly a section among the episcopate of the Eastern Orthodox Church who had made up their minds that reunion with Rome was the way out. This gives us the background to the *rencontre* between our missionaries and the two Archbishops. When Komulovic says that he took them for Catholics, he means

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He was lent, with Balthasar Sfondratus, an Illyrian, in 1575, to the Bishop of Catara (Kotor) to consolidate the results of a mission in the previous year (Sacchini, *Hist. S.J.*, Pt. IV., p. 74). It was three years later that he went with J. B. Elianus on the mission to the Maronites (*op. cit.*, p. 180). Two years after that (1580) Raggio became first Rector of the new Illyrian college at *Lauretum* (Loretto). This venture did not flourish, and was transferred to Rome in 1590.

*Litteræ Quadrimestres*, written by Raggio at Nola in 1560, at the age of 29, are printed in the *Mon. Hist. S.J.*; *Litt. Quad.*, Tom. VI., pp. 614-619 and 789-793.

They are dated May 1 and November 1 of that year. He was then teaching at Nola, where he had been for two years. Previously he had taught at Loretto for a year. Selection to write the *Litteræ Quadrimestres* does not, in itself, seem to be a mark of notable distinction.

that he was convinced that they were sound men in the cause of reunion.<sup>1</sup> And in proof of that, he points to the fact that they had both visited Rome, and that the Archbishop of Ephesus had not only had audience with the Pope, but had been charged by him with a commission to the Patriarch, Jeremias II.<sup>2</sup> Jeremias had been translated from Larissa in 1572, to replace the deposed Metrophanes, a pro-Roman, who, when Archbishop of Cæsarea, had been to Rome, and had audience with the Pope. The first advances that Jeremias received, however, were from a Tübingen deputation, presenting the Augsburg confession. His rejection of this was promptly followed by several friendly advances from Rome, and he was negotiating with Cedulini, Bishop of Nona, when Metrophanes got him banished from Constantinople, in November, 1579. Metrophanes died in the next May, and Jeremias was restored, until Pachomius, Archbishop of Cæsarea, and Theoleptus, Archbishop of Philippopolis, in March, 1584, plotted to get him exiled to Rhodes. The year 1583 had seen the Jesuits

<sup>1</sup> These Archbishops, being Candiotti, were Venetian subjects. There was a large colony of Candiotti at Constantinople. Thus Crete formed a particularly important field for reunion negotiations (Soranzo, *op. cit.*, p. 87). For example, in 1583, Giorgio Paleocapa was permitted to replace the decayed Latin see of Chissamo by a Greek Uniat see. And though he failed to give this Uniat arrangement stability, it is significant that the attempt should have been made. See Guiseppe Gerola, *Vescovi Cretesi all' epoca Veneta (Miscellanea di storia Veneta, Ser. 3, Tom. VII., Pt. II.)*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> For Jeremias, see Martin Crusius, *Turcogræcia* (Basle, 1584), pp. 486, 491. Crusius was a party to the Reformed advances to the Greek church during Jeremias' reign. The correspondence of Jeremias and the Tübingen company is given in Book VII. The negotiations in which Crusius was engaged were beginning to come to nothing when he wrote, just before the journey of Komulovic and Raggio.

A short general account of Jeremias is given in M. I. Gedeon's ΠΑΤΡΙ-ΑΡΧΙΚΟΙ ΠΙΝΑΚΕΣ (Constantinople, 1890), pp. 518-36, where Crusius' wood-block portrait of Jeremias is reproduced (Crusius, *op. cit.*, p. 106). Also in M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus* (1740), Tom. I., col. 325-9. Lequien, Tom. I., col. 693, deals with the Metropolitans of Ephesus, and mentions a Sophronius as enlisting the interest of the Tsar in the cause of Jeremias against Metrophanes in 1580. Our Archbishop should be the successor of Pachomius, who had but recently been concerned in getting Jeremias exiled. Jeremias was definitely cooling towards the Roman advances, and turning in the direction of the Tsar. The brothers in our deed were evidently out-and-out pro-Romans.

installed at Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> and a flood of Roman propaganda let loose among the Orthodox, as also the proposal from Rome that the Orthodox should accept the Gregorian reform of the calendar. At this stage, Jeremias was moved very much towards Rome, and sent a gift of relics to Gregory XIII., in August of 1584, the finger of St. John Chrysostom, and the hand of St. Andrew of Crete. Meanwhile Pachomius of Cæsarea obtained the Patriarchate, and held it till February, 1585, when the synod put Theoleptus in his place. The latter having died, Jeremias finished his life in undisturbed possession of his office (1586-1595). But Sophronius, Archbishop of Ephesus, had, in 1580, interested the Tsar in the affairs of the Patriarchate, and latterly it was in this direction that Jeremias looked. In 1588 he established the Patriarchate of Moscow, and so wedded the church of Russia to Constantinople. From this moment, the Roman reunion hopes evaporated.

Returning to Komulovic and Raggio, we see that their arrival in Constantinople was during the usurpation by Pachomius. Pachomius had, of course, left a vacancy at Cæsarea, while it is possible that Sophronius of Ephesus had been elected Patriarch of Jerusalem. Thus our brother Archbishops of Ephesus and Cæsarea may both be new holders of those titles (the later certainly must be) and adherents of Pachomius.

At the moment, there seemed to their party no hope but in the Orthodox throwing themselves into the arms of Rome. Hence the very satisfactory behaviour of these Greek prelates towards the two Roman missionaries. These last turned homewards in high spirits. Sacchini describes an incident on their journey.<sup>2</sup> They came to a place where a servant of a Turkish farmer was possessed by an evil spirit. The missionaries were successful in exorcising it. "Ad sacras reliquias quas patres

<sup>1</sup> For the beginning of the Jesuit work at Constantinople see Emile Legrand's publication of the sixteenth-century MS. *Relation de l'établissement de la Compagnie de Jésus en Levant* (Paris, 1869). France and Venice obtained the safe-conduct and the grant of buildings. Julio Mancinelli and four companions began the work in 1583.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.*



Româ detulerant mancipium dæmoniacum perductum adhibita solenni prece liberatum est." The farmer, for a thank-offering, sent them next day two large candles! In view of our document, it is likely enough that "Roma detulerant" is an assumption of Sacchini, and that the relics were those which the missionaries had collected during their tour, including St. Basil's thumb.

But when they reached Rome, Gregory XIII. was dead, and the Cardinal of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni, Francesco Perretti, was Pope, as Sixtus V.<sup>1</sup> In due course he became a munificent benefactor to the church of his title, and constituted it a *collegiata* in 1589. Komulovic was first Archpriest. Two years later, deed No. 39 shows that he was back at Zara, and that he styled himself Abbate. Pierling knows, from Slavonic sources, that he founded a small monastery near Zara,<sup>2</sup> and so our document may be taken as giving the time of its foundation. On the other hand, deed No. 67 shows that de Cysneros was in Rome while he was still Archpriest of San Girolamo, say 1590. Komulovic was not destined to be left in his desired retirement. In 1592, which began the eleventh century of the Hegira, the Turkish spirit of aggression was roused, and the successful outcome of the Persian campaign released the Sultan from that preoccupation. The Pope saw that the day of opportunity was rapidly passing. He therefore recalled Komulovic, and sent him, in 1593, on a secret mission to Transylvania, Poland and Russia.<sup>3</sup> But the tide of opportunity had definitely been lost. At the end of five years of busy diplomacy, nothing solid was achieved. He returned to Rome in 1599, and when he entered the Jesuit novitiate, Roman gossip attributed it to disappointment. He had been expected to receive the red hat as the reward of success on his mission. His last years were spent at Ragusa as a missionary among the Slavs. A surprising thing about

<sup>1</sup> Casimiro Tempesti, *Storia della Vita di Sisto Quinto* (1754), Tom. II., lib. 8., cc. 3 and 4. (Edn. of 1866, pp. 188-9.)

<sup>2</sup> At Nona. See Pierling, *Papes et Tsars*, p. 448.

<sup>3</sup> Soranzo, *op. cit.*, p. 160, speaks favourably of the mission to Moscow of "Alessandro Cumuli."

these two documents is the light in which they set Father de Cysneros.<sup>1</sup> He is otherwise a very obscure figure. The São Roque *Obituários* give him the barest mention among the departed members of the province, under the heading "Coimbra." Sommervogel has the barest outline; born at Lisbon, 1533, novice, 1559, after twenty-four years as a teacher of moral theology, he took full vows at Rome in 1583, and died at Coimbra, August 23, 1593.<sup>2</sup> Father Franco, in his *Imagem da virtude*,<sup>3</sup> relates that in 1580 Father Diogo "Cisneyros" was one of three theologians, who, in retirement on a farm in the Val de Rosel, drew up a systematic work on casuistry. This was not, however, printed. Nevertheless this man, so undistinguished at home, gained the degree of regard testified by Komulovic's letter, from a man who had all Rome to choose from; and had from him, as a parting gift, the most valuable relic he had from his mission in the East. The wording of our deed No. 67 would naturally imply that there was only one period during which de Cysneros had been at Rome. It must therefore extend from 1583 to 1591, a period allowing five years for the establishing of the friendship with Komulovic. The gift and letter sent from Zara, evidently on receipt of the news of de Cysneros' impending departure for Portugal, speaks eloquently of the regard in which Komulovic held him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sources for Cysneros, besides those named in the text, are Antonio Franco's *Synopsis Annalium*, esp. pp. 75, 160, and the same author's *Annus Gloriosus*, in which there is a notice of him under his obit day, August 28. He died in 1594. This is noted in the *Annuaire Litteraire* for 1594-5, p. 770, as happening at Coimbra in the former year.

"Doctor P. Jacobus Cisnerius, non in Lusitania solum, sed Romæ quoque magno doctrinæ experimento magnis in rebus cognitur."

Franco describes Cysneros as a brilliant young Doctor of Civil Law who suddenly renounced the hope of a distinguished career at the age of 25 in 1558, to enter the Society. He afterwards taught at Rome and at Evora.

In Franco's judgment, he was a man who hid his virtues.

<sup>2</sup> Sommervogel is clearly wrong in this date, and not improbably in the others. He prints 1535 as the date of his birth.

<sup>3</sup> *Imagem da virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus em Lisboa* (Coimbra, 1717), and *em Coimbra* (Evora and Coimbra, two vols., 1719). I have not seen these. The citation is Sommervogel's.

<sup>4</sup> The *Annuaire Litteraire* for 1592, p. 178, record the gift of our relic to São Roque in the following terms:

In contrast with the unambitious but rich personality of de Cysneros, Manoel de Sequeira<sup>1</sup> appears as a man whose energy has given him a leading place in the contemporary history, without the concomitance of more than ordinary gifts besides. He was slightly junior to de Cysneros. For it was the latter who went on the mission from Evora to Elvas in 1565, which formed the commencement of the Jesuit work there; while the former appears first as taking part in the work in 1568. He outlived de Cysneros by a few months, and died on August 24, 1595, aged sixty-two. His distinction began with his work in Madeira, as Rector and founder of the Funchal college (1570-1577), and as a vigorous reformer of morals in the islands; he was Rector of Braga (1579-1580) and of Evora (1583-1585). He then engaged on a very successful mission at Lagos (1587) and acted as assistant to the Provincial (1589), succeeding Fonseca as Preposito of São Roque in 1592. He died in that office three years later.

We pass to the year 1594 to find catacomb relics being consigned from Rome to São Roque. Here we have, in deed No. 3, a certificate drawn in the office of a Roman official for

Ad harum reliquiarum numerum, e nostris quidam apposuit, communi pietate colendum, S. Basilii Magni digitum, quem Roma ad privatam religionem secum deportaverat.

In the "Descobrimento" lists appear two small gilded wooden boxes containing relics of St. Basil. They are numbered as reliquaries Nos. 53 and 54 behind the altar the Todos os Santos. One or both of them should be Komulovic's gift. The piece of skull from the Roman Carmelites is not either, but is separately noted in the small wooden coffer No. 26.

<sup>1</sup> For Sequeira, see Franco, *opp. cit.* (*Synopsis*, p. 82 *seqq.*, and office lists at the end of the book). He enjoyed the close friendship of the Archbishop of Braga, Bartolomeo de Martyribus, who took so lively a part in the Council of Trent (*Annus Gloriosus*, August 24).

His death is recorded in the São Roque *Obituarios*, as entry No. 169, and in the *Annua Litteræ* for 1595, p. 763. An earliest reference to him is to be found in the *Litteræ Quadrimestres* for 1559 (*Mon. Hist. S.J., Litt. Quad.*, Tom. VI., p. 424). He is called Mæstro Sequeira, lecturer in Philosophy at Evora, whose name used to be Manoel Lousada.

St. Francis Borgia picked him for the work in Madeira (P. de Ribadaneira, *Vita F. Borgie*, Rome, 1596, p. 129).

The *Obituarios* qualify him as a great preacher.

He was Vice-Provincial in 1593.

the exportation of the relics. Camillo Borghese<sup>1</sup> (*Camillus Burghesius, Prothonotarius apostolicus*) certifies, on February 12, 1594, that "Paulus de Angelis, clericus Syracusanus de Societate Jesu" appeared "contra quoscunque," "ad docendum de extractione Reliquiarum facta per Reverendum Patrem Laurentium de Puteis, procuratorem generalem Societatis" from the catacombs of St. Callixtus. The relics were those of Saints Paschasius, Saturninus, Cemenius, Febus *et sodales et soror*, Simplicianus, Eusebius *episcopus et martyr*, Maximus and others, and delle Pozze acted on the authority of a "Supplicatio Smi D.N.P.P. manu signata, apud S. Marcum, Idibus Octobris" of the second year of Pope Clement VIII. (1593). The deed is signed by a clerk, *Hieronimus Fabrius*, and has Borghese's seal in a tin box, attached to it by a red cord. Ribeiro's deed No. 50 is a witnessed copy of this, to which de Angelis has subjoined a note that "vigore supradictæ supplicationis," he has given part of these relics to Father João Alvarez, Provincial of Portugal,<sup>2</sup> and the rest to Father Pedro Morales, Provincial of Mexico. Ribeiro's deed No. 54 (i.) is a clerklly copy of this.

Now 1593 was the year in which Clement VIII. called *Comitia Generalia* of the Society to meet at Rome, and João Alvarez, Fonseca, and João Correa were sent from Portugal,

<sup>1</sup> Camillo Borghese, Auditor of the Camera Apostolica, had, at this date, just returned from his journey as Nuncio-extraordinary to Spain, to urge alliance with the Empire against the Turk (R. de Hinojosa, *Despachos en España*, p. 360), to which he went in 1593. He was created Cardinal in 1595, and became Pope as Pius V. in 1605.

<sup>2</sup> This João Alvarez is the second of the name to win distinction in the Society. The former was at Trent in 1549. This Alvarez was professed in 1562. See Antonio Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, under March 10. He was first at Lisbon, and later Rector of Oporto. Finally he became Provincial. At the *Conventus Generalis* he created a most favourable impression. He was one of the people most to credit for the reconciliation of Henry IV. of France with the Holy See. The King, as a mark of recognition, gave him a relic, "Crystallina crux, donum vere regium, cui est inclusum veræ crucis lignum."

Later he was Preposito of São Roque and Visitor of Portugal, was under consideration as Aquaviva's successor as General, and died in 1623.

A summary of Morales' long life (1538-1614) is given by Sommervogel. This was the second time that he had carried relics to Mexico. In 1579, on the first occasion, he published a *Relaçion de la Festividad que en esta*

of whom the first was elected Assistant-general, while de Sequeira acted for him in the province. Evidently the Pope made it an occasion for permitting "extraction" from the catacomb of St. Callixtus, so that the departing Fathers, after the *Comitia*, should take back relics to their provinces. Nothing needs to be said about the Provincials concerned. They are clear figures in Jesuit history, but their personalities do not come into account in this transaction. The name de Angelis is frequent in the history of the Sicilian province, but Paolo has left no mark of himself.<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo delle Pozze has done so as a writer of *Litteræ annuæ* and a biography, and therefore we know him to have been twenty-six at this time. It thus appears that the exportation of catacomb relics was becoming a piece of regularised routine business, entrusted to responsible juniors.

Deed No. 17 is a copy of a brief certificate by Aquaviva of this same year (1594) to go with a relic of Pope Pontianus. The General, it seems, wished to add a personal contribution to the new treasure of relics destined for Lisbon. As in the case of his relic of the True Cross, he says nothing of the circumstances under which it came to him.

Apparently there were still more catacomb relics to come, brought by the returning delegates from Rome. This is shown by our deed No. 82, a brief declaration signed at Lisbon on October 19, 1594, to the effect that the signatory, Father Antonio de Vasconcellos, of the Society, under instruction from Father Manoel de Sequeira, spoke to the Archbishop of Lisbon, Don Miguel de Castro, and got his formal approbation for certain relics for the house of São Roque, to wit, the skull of

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*insigne Ciudad de Mexico se hizo este año de setenta y ocho en la collocacion de las sanctas Reliquias que nuestro muy sancto Padre Gregorio XIII. les embio.* For Correa, see p. 190 below.

<sup>1</sup> Mutius de Angelis of the Roman college is mentioned by Jouvancy (*Hist. S.J.*, Pt. V., Tom. II., p. 798), and Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, s.n. Bernard de Angelis compiled the *Annuæ Litteræ* for 1600, and was Secretary to Aquaviva. Mutius and Alexander de Angelis were from Spoleto (Sommervogel, l.c.). A Sicilian, Girolamo de Angelis, died a martyr in Japan. E. Aguilera mentions three of the name in his *Provincia Siculæ S.J.* (1737-40), but no Paolo.

Pope John I., the martyr, that is about to be put in a wooden bust-shaped reliquary,<sup>1</sup> and an arm-bone of Pope Stephen I., the martyr. The certificate is countersigned by de Sequeira.

Vasconcellos<sup>2</sup> was, at this time, a man of thirty-nine, belonging to a very good Lisbon family. His mother, whose name he bears, was noble, and she and his sister, Dona Joana, were famous for their devotion to religion. When, later, he was Rector of Evora, Dona de Vasconcellos had reliquaries made for a big gift of relics which he obtained for the college. At this time he was professing philosophy at Coimbra.

The surprising thing is to have so inadequate a certification for such important relics. It is not, in fact, a deed of authentication, but merely a certificate that the Archbishop's sanction was obtained for the veneration of these relics in Lisbon. The phrase *falei ao Senhor Arcebispo* (I spoke to His Grace about . . .) implies that de Vasconcello's business was not to shew something, but to give information by word of mouth, with a view to the approbation. What that information was can only be guessed. But it can safely be said that the name of someone of unquestionable authority must have been mentioned as vouching for these relics, which clearly are from Rome. We may suggest, then, that they had been brought for São Roque by a returning delegate, who was not Alvarez. The obvious person is da Fonseca, who had been seven years at Rome as Mercurian's Assistant-general, and enjoyed the favour of the very highest. It is strange that he should have delivered these relics with neither certificate nor reliquary. But the explanation was evidently good enough for the Archbishop of Lisbon.

<sup>1</sup> Que logo se pora em hum corpo de maderá.

<sup>2</sup> Entries Nos. 390 and 391 of the *Obituários de São Roque* show that Father Antonio was the son of Bartolomeo Froes and Dona de Vasconcellos, and contain a eulogistic account of his sister, Dona Joana.

Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, gives his dates as: Born 1553, received into the Society, 1570, died at Evora, 1622. He held rectorships, and was a writer on Portuguese history. See *Diccionario Popular*, Lisbon, 1876-90, *s.n.* See also *Annus Gloriosus* (July 12): "Ipsi debetur augustum Eborensis templi sanctuarium pretiosis ornatum lipsanothecis, ad cujus expensas contulit bonam summam illius mater." He wrote on Portuguese law also.

At the end of the same year, 1594, was written another deed signed by a Jesuit and countersigned by de Sequeira. This is deed No. 15.<sup>1</sup> It is as follows:

I, Manoel de Costa, priest professed of the Company of Jesus, certify that I have given to the house of São Roque belonging to the same Company, a relic of the holy wood of the Cross, which is in a crystal cross in the hand of the Infant Jesus, being the image surrounded with a glory. And that a piece of the same holy wood is placed in the round silver cross that Don João gave. That wood was given to me by the Commandress de Santos, Dona Ilena de Castro, God rest her soul! Also a piece of the leg-bone of a holy confessor whose name is lost, which also was given to me by the same lady, and she had been given it by Queen Catherine. Further, I have given a small relic of St. Susanna, and another of the Holy Innocents given me by the Lord Archbishop of Braga, Dom Agostinho. Also, I brought from Madrid for the same house, a relic of the holy Crown of Christ our Lord, with a small thorn, together with its certificate of authenticity, delivered to me by Dom João de Borja and Dona Francesca d'Aragão his wife, for this house. These sacred relics the Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, Dom Miguel de Castro, approved as authentic, for them to be placed publicly in church. Father Manoel de Sequeira being the Preposito. And for the sake of verity we sign here, both I and the Father aforesaid, this eighth day of November, 1594.

MANOEL DA COSTA.

IHS

MANOEL DE SEQUEIRA.

L.S.

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese text:

Certifico, eu, Manoel da Costa, sacerdote professo da Companhia de Jesus, que eu dei á casa de S. Roque da mesma companhia, hua reliquia do Santo Lenho da Cruz, que esta em hua Cruz de Christal em a mão de hua imagem do menino Jesu cerrada com hum Resplandor. E hua lasca do mesmo Santo Lenho estar em a Cruz deprata redonda que deu Dom Joam, o qual Lenho me deu a Comendadeira de Santos, Dona Ilena de Castro, que Deus aja. Com hum pedaço de hua cana de perna de hum santo confessor de que se perdeu o nome, que tambem me deu a dita senhora, o qual lhe tinha dado a Rainha Catherine. Mais, dei hua reliquia pequena de Santa Suzana, e outra dos santos Innocentes, que me deu o senhor Arcebispo de Braga, Dom Agostinho. Tambem troxe de Madrid, para a dita casa, hua reliquia da Santa coroa de Christo Neustro Senhor, com hum espinho pequeno, e seu testemunho authenticico que me entregou Dom Joam de Borja e dona Francesca d'Aragão sua molher, para esta casa. Quaes sagradas Reliquias o Senhor Arcebispo

Father Manoel da Costa,<sup>1</sup> who draws up this paper, was of moderate distinction in the Society, and his career can be traced in part. He was the second of his name to enter the Society within a short period. But whereas the senior Manoel da Costa, writer of *Litteræ Quadrimestres* from Lisbon in 1559 and 1560, was a native of the Azores,<sup>2</sup> our Manoel was a Lisbon man,<sup>3</sup> born about 1540. Franco tells of his early days as a member of the Professa of São Roque. "Multas et magni momenti eleemosynas acquisivit domui Professæ," "etiam, jubente Præposito, stipem collegit ostiatim petitam ad augendam structuram ædificii." Both phrases would suggest that he was a man of some social standing in Lisbon, who could influence important people to give to the building fund, and made an impression, when he went on a door-to-door *quête*. He may have been some connection of the da Costas of Soure. Such an origin would serve to explain the fact that he stood as much as he did in the eye of the great.<sup>4</sup>

Next he wrote in Portuguese a short account of the work of the Society in India, down to the year 1568. The curious thing is that he did not publish it, but that G. P. Maffei put it into Latin, and incorporated it in his *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum volumen*, which was published at Cologne in 1574 and went into several editions.<sup>5</sup> Da Costa's part appears

de Lisboa, Dom Miguel de Castro, aprovou como por autenticas para se porem em a Igreja publicas; sendo Preposito o Padre Manoel de Sequeira; e por verdade asinamos aqui, eu e o mesmo Padre, aos 8 de Novembro de 1594.

IHS

MANOEL DA COSTA. L.S.

MANOEL DE SEQUEIRA.

<sup>1</sup> The best notice is in Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, February 24. Sotwell and Sommervogel give brief notices.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Hist. S.J. Litteræ Quadrimestres*, Tom. VI., pp. 78 and 594-599. A note of his history, derived from the Coimbra records, is given in the footnotes on p. 599 (*Catalogus collegiorum Conimbricensium*, 1565).

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by the fact that when he fell ill at Faro, in South Portugal, in 1604, he was taken back to Lisbon, in the hope that his health might recover in his native climate.

<sup>4</sup> This is illustrated by Franco's "Ter petentibus Brigantinæ Domus principibus, sacras missiones peregit Villæviciossæ."

<sup>5</sup> A probable explanation is that Maffei had been charged with the popularisation of the work of the Society in the East, and da Costa was therefore directed to hand over his work to him. Later, in 1578, Maffei



there as *De rebus Indicis ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine MDLXVIII. Commentarius, Emmanuelis Acostæ Lusitani, recognitus et Latinitate donatus*. It occupies seventy-one pages.

After this there follows a long blank in his history, which ends with his going to be Rector of the College at Braga in 1588. He was there three years. The next notice of him is a very valuable one, for our purposes. It occurs in the *Annuæ Litteræ* for 1592. On p. 178 we read: "Joannes vero Borgia, qui domum hanc atque adeo Urbem divinam hujusmodi thesauris reddiderat, quasi ut coronidem poneret, suis erga nos beneficiis immortalibus ad easdem reliquias adjunxit; bonam ejus coronæ partem, quæ sanctissimum Christi Servatoris caput circumcinxit et pupugit."

In the first place, this accounts for da Costa's next step after being succeeded at Braga. He was on some mission at Madrid, and thence returned to São Roque.

In the second place, it demonstrates the character of our deed No. 15. Drawn in 1594, it does not certify a donation of several relics at that time, but provides one certificate for a series of previous donations for which da Costa had been responsible. It also certifies the Archbishop's approval of these relics for public veneration, and this is most probably the transaction which occasioned the drawing of the deed. We have seen that de Sequeira, early in his term of office as Preposito, called a committee of Fathers-theologian to decide procedure for the recognition of further accessions to the São Roque treasure of relics.<sup>1</sup> And deed No. 15 may be regarded as conforming with the decisions then arrived at.

And in the third place, it enables us to account for the Seelowitz Holy Thorn of deed No. 63. Borgia kept it, and the

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was sent to Lisbon to work on the accumulated material there. Franco says (*Synopsis, sub anno*), "Advenit hoc anno in Lusitaniā Joannes Petrus Maffæus, huc missus ut scriberet historiam propagationis Evangelii per vastissima Orientis regna, quod tantæ rei nusquam essent in-corrumpiora monumenta, quam in Lusitania."

<sup>1</sup> The result of the deliberations of de Sequeira's committee was the establishment of a form of procedure which the Archbishop accepted as a standard. Thus, at the end of his life (he died in 1625), we find him receiving requests from the Convent of Santos in 1622 and 1623, to per-

deed drawn up by Father Campanus, until 1592. And then, when Father da Costa was in Madrid, he put them into his hands, to take back as a further gift to São Roque. To corroborate this identification, we may note the way in which da Costa, in his certificate, emphasises the same point that is emphasised in deed No. 63, namely, that this piece of the Holy Crown includes an actual thorn.

Deed No. 15 is dated, but no place is mentioned. The natural assumption is that it was drawn up at São Roque, immediately after the Archbishop's recognition of these relics had been obtained. It is a natural supposition that this step was precipitated by the donation of a fresh relic which da Costa had just brought back in 1594. We should expect the Braga relics to arrive in 1591 or 1592. The date for the Holy Thorn is fixed. And that leaves Ilena de Castro's relics as the only possible 1594 accessions.

At this point we have the help of another paper in the tin box, numbered by Ribeiro as deed No. 70.<sup>1</sup> It runs as follows: Dona Ilena, Commandress of the town of Santos, gave this bone for this house of São Roque. It is part of a complete leg-bone which Queen Catherine, wife of King João III., gave her; and she had brought it from Rome, with on it this same inscription in letters of gold that is at present on this piece. And as witness thereof, I certify that the said Dona Ilena gave this piece to Father Manoel da Costa for this house, on the first of July, 1594.

LUIS PYNIAR(o).

X.

mit the placing of relics in the convent church, and replying by referring the matter to a committee of Jesuit Fathers-theologian. Some of the relics were the Archbishop's own gift. Accordingly Fathers Jorge Cabral and Francisco de Gouvea, and Mestre Manoel de Veyga reported, the last-named very much at length, and the leave was granted (Manoel Gomes, Freire Agostinho da Santa Maria, *Historia Tripartita*, Tom. III., pp. 480-495, published Lisbon, 1724).

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese text:

Este osso deu, para esta casa de S. Roque, Dona Ilena, comendadeira da villa de Sanctos, o quale parte de cana ou osso enterejo (inteiriço) que lhe deo a elle a Rainha Dona Catherina, molher del Rey don João III., que lo trouxera de Roma com o mesmo rotolo de letras d'ouro que esta neste pedaço. E por fazer fee, certifico que a dita dona Ilena deo este pedaço a Padre Manoel da Costa para esta casa, aos prymos de Julho de 1594.

X.

LUIS PYNIAR(o).

In place of a seal, there is a curious *griffe*,<sup>1</sup> which perhaps constitutes a form of the IHS. Another hand has added below the note:

This bone has a ticket written in gold letters on white parchment; it says that it belonged to a holy confessor; it is in a reliquary ornamented with gold on silk.<sup>2</sup>

We may conclude, then, that in November, 1594, da Costa came back to São Roque with these relics given by Dona Ilена, and the Preposito got him to fulfil the agreed formalities on account of the whole group, as well as the latest arrivals.

We must not, however, jump to the conclusion that he brought deed No. 70 as a covering certificate. It speaks of "this house," and bears no place of signature. Evidently also it was intended to be kept with the bone which it certifies, and the note at the bottom was added to determine which relic it belonged to, after it had been removed from the reliquary. Thus the signatory wrote it at São Roque, and put it with the relic, and it was later removed to be placed with the other papers about relics, at which time the note was added, to make certain to which relic it belonged.

So we must suppose that da Costa did not bring back any document to cover either of Dona Ilена's gifts, but that a witness of one of the donations came to São Roque after da Costa had gone away or was dead, and his interest in this relic caused him to put this little certificate with it. This, however, was not according to the custom of the house, and it was removed and put into the box with the other authentication papers.

We should expect the ample reference to the donatrix to give the key to the history of the relic. But it is she who presents the most difficult problem. She bears a noble name, and her

<sup>1</sup> A long upright pen-stroke, looped at each end, is crossed by a short transverse stroke in the middle, and four dots occupy the four angles of the cross.

<sup>2</sup> Portuguese text:

Este hosso tem hum letreiro de letras d'ouro sobre perguaminho branco; diz de hum sancto confessor; esta em hum Reliquario guarnecido d'ouro e sseda.

association with Queen Catherine would mark her out as a lady in sufficiently high position to be certainly mentioned in Caetano de Sousa's tables of nobility.<sup>1</sup> These tables contain the names of a number of ladies called Helena, with or without other Christian names, and of the surname de Castro. But none of them can be our Dona Ilena.

When we turn from her name to her title, the situation is made more perplexing still. The title *Comendadeira de Santos* was a very well-known title in Lisbon, and indeed all Portugal. It designated the lady, always of high nobility, who ruled the Mosteiro Real de Santos.<sup>2</sup> This was the one house for women belonging to the Portuguese branch of the Military Order of Santiago of the Sword. Founded in the early thirteenth century for wives and daughters of knights away on military service, it had retained its aristocratic and somewhat secular character. Its buildings were fine and commodious, on a slight rise overlooking the Tagus, outside the city walls to the

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (1738).

<sup>2</sup> Manoel Gomes, Freire Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Historia Tripartita* (1724), is the chief source for the history of the Mosteiro. The author was chaplain there. But his closeness to his subject is a disadvantage, as he takes so much for granted. Two-thirds of his book are devoted to the story of the patron saints, the martyrs Verissimus, Maxima and Julia, and of St. James of Compostella and the origins of the Order of Santiago. In the remainder he recounts the history of the foundation of the house, and goes on to "a noticia de suas illustres Commendadeiras, desde o anno de 1212 até os nossos tempos." He tells nothing of the house itself, except incidentally.

For the position of the Mosteiro de Santos in the order of Santiago, see H. Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires* (1714-1721), Bk. II., c. xxxix. According to this writer, the Lisbon house shared with that of Barcelona such freedom from accommodation to ordinary conventuallife, that its members could leave it to be married. It would not appear that in our period such a thing ever happened at Lisbon. Various references to the Mosteiro that occur in seventeenth and eighteenth century books characterize it as "fine," "sumptuous" and so on. At the time of the Tavora conspiracy, great public notice was taken of the fact that the young Marchioness was sent there, as it was regarded as a form of confinement hardly worthy of the name. The ladies of Santos were much respected, but rather as exemplary ladies than as nuns. Their life was more that of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and marked by considerable social freedom. A brief notice of the house is given in Luiz Caetano de Lima, *Geografia Historica* (1734-6), Tom. I., p. 537.

west.<sup>1</sup> The *Freiras*, or professed ladies, were well supplied with maids, and had *enfants de chœur* to sing in their chapel. Their number was small, and their profession took place upon the command of the King, as Master of the Order; so that the registers, at least for the sixteenth century, give full information not only as to the Comendadeiras,<sup>2</sup> but also every Freira. As for the former, the whole of the period with which this history is concerned is covered first by Dona Helena de Lencastro, until her death in 1578, and then by her niece Dona Anna de Lencastro.<sup>3</sup> Dona Helena was sister to Queen Leonor. Three de Castro ladies appear among the Freiras during this time, Leonor, Maria and Isabel, and they all had the second office in the house, that of *Vigaria* to the Comendadeira. Even on the supposition that one of them also had the second name of Helena, their dates will not permit of their identification with our Dona Ilana. Her title must thus point elsewhere than to the Mosteiro de Santos.

Now our second paper gives us a variant of the title, namely, *Comendadeira da villa de Santos*. The quarter where the Mosteiro stood, while it took the name of Santos, could hardly be called a *villa*,<sup>4</sup> nor could the abbess be called its Commandress. This form of the title points us to a town of Santos; and such there was, but in Brasil.<sup>5</sup> Now a colonial town might be given to a member of one of the military orders *in com-*

<sup>1</sup> The buildings were destroyed by the earthquake of 1755. The Order was secularised by Queen Maria in 1789. The title of the convent, *Monasterium de Sanctis*, gave its name to the *freguezia* of Santos, outside the walls, and so to the modern quarter of Santos, with its dock and electric station, and parish church standing, quite probably, upon the site of the convent church. It is named simply Igreja de Santos.

<sup>2</sup> The social standing of these Comendadeiras is to be appreciated from a study of the occurrence of the titles *Comendadeira de Santos*, *Commendatrix Sanctorum Ordinis S. Jacobi*, or *Monasteria Sanctorum*, in Caetano de Sousa, *op. cit.*, and J. W. Imhof, *Stemma Regium Lusitanicum* (1708).

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Tripartita*, Tom. III., pp. 446-473, gives the history of the period of office of Dona Anna de Lencastro, 1578-1623.

<sup>4</sup> Such mentions of it as I know describe it as *Freguezia* (parish).

<sup>5</sup> A short account of Santos is given in the *Revista Trimensal de Historia e Geographia do Instituto historico e geographico Brasileiro*, Tom. IX. (1846), p. 324. (The periodical which was issued under this title from 1838 to 1850 has since been known as *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Brasil*.)

*mendam*. In the case of Brasil, where the whole territory was granted out in donatory *capitanias*, such a commandery (*Commenda*) could only be formed by a royal grant which encroached on the already granted rights of the *donatario*.<sup>1</sup> Such things did happen. From 1540 to about 1580, a *Commenda* of Nossa Senhora da Assumpção was created under and out of the *Capitania-donatária* of Santa Maria in the Azores.<sup>2</sup>

But when we turn to Brasil, and in particular to Santos, there is no trace of anything of the sort. By the time of the settlement of Brasil, the military orders had outlived their practical utility as an agency of conquest and government. The organisation remained, but it had become honorific, and an adjunct of nobility. In Brasil, modernised methods prevailed from the first. The land, belonging to the Portuguese crown as such, was given out by royal grant, and portions assigned again by the *donatarios* to settlers. Military organisation was by means of commissioned officers. The *donatario* of a *capitania* was its *capitão-mor*, but he could depute his functions to a *lugartenente*. And this is what we find exclusively in early Brazilian history. Neither territorial nobility nor titles of chivalry appear. In the case of Santos, our information is clear and full. The Lisbon Academician Frei Gaspar da Madre de Deus had a very thorough knowledge of the local records, and in 1797 made it permanently available in his *Memorias da Capitania de S. Vicente*.<sup>3</sup> So we learn that on September 25, 1536, Anna de Pimentel, *Procuradora* for the young Pedro Lopez, signed the authority for Antonio de Oliveira, the *Capitão-mor* of San Vicente, to grant what was to

<sup>1</sup> Santos lay in the donatory *capitania* of San Vicente, granted first to Martim Affonso de Sousa, and then in 1571 to Pedro Lopez de Sousa, who was non-resident, and fell fighting in Africa under Dom Sebastião in 1578. From him it passed to his son Lopez de Sousa. See S. da Rocha Pitta, *História da America Portuguesa* (2nd edn., 1880), *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio Cordeyro, *Historia Insulana* (1717), pp. 122-125.

<sup>3</sup> Published at Lisbon by the Academia das Sciencias. The author devotes pp. 96-104 to the story of the foundation of Santos. There was, apparently, a *Tabellião* of Santos in the 1580's, and under this official the deeds and records upon which Frei Gaspar drew, began to be collected. The interest of the *Tabellião* was legal rather than historical, and the material available to Frei Gaspar was accordingly partial.

be the territory of Santos to a settler called Braz Cubas, who on June 8, 1545, succeeded him in the offices of *Capitão-mor* and *lugartenente*.<sup>1</sup> He had, in the meantime, founded a settlement on a fine natural harbour, which he named Santos, after the dock-quarter of Lisbon.<sup>2</sup> And one of the first uses that he made of his authority was to give his settlement of Santos the status of a town.<sup>3</sup> The records on which Frei Gaspar worked showed that this step must have been taken between August 14, 1546, and January 3, 1547.<sup>4</sup> Braz Cubas next sought royal authority to establish a *Confraria* and *Casa da Misericórdia*, the first in Brasil. João III. signed the charter on April 2, 1551.<sup>5</sup> The church of Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, built for the institution, became the parish church of Santos when, later, a new *freguezia* of Santos was carved out of the original parish of San Vicente.

The rising prosperity of Santos is shewn in the correspondence of an English resident, Mr. John Whithal, in the years 1578-80, printed by Hakluyt.<sup>6</sup> The *Provedor* and "the Captaine" appear as the authorities of the town. The *Provedor* is, no doubt, *Provedor de Fazenda*.<sup>7</sup> Braz Cubas was that, as well as "Capitão-mor, governador, e alcaide-mor da Capitania de S. Vicente, por merce do donatario."<sup>8</sup> He was now an elderly man, and "the Captaine" would be the commander of the Portuguese force under him. (As early as 1560, Santos is found providing an armed force in Mem de Sa's expedition against the French.)<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 103. Braz Cubas entered into possession of the land at some date in 1538 (*op. cit.*, p. 96).

<sup>4</sup> *L.c.* M. Ayres de Casal, *Corographia Brasilica* (1845), Tom. I., p. 195, gives 1545 for the date of the actual building of Santos.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 101, and see Ayres de Casal, *l.c.*

<sup>6</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol. iii. (edition of 1600), pp. 701-6.

<sup>7</sup> The immediate function of this office was the oversight of the collection of the royal revenues. In such a place as Brasil at this time it was the office of predominant importance.

<sup>8</sup> *Revista do Instituto*, Tom. IX. (1846), p. 324.

<sup>9</sup> See F. S. Constancio, *Historia do Brasil* (1839), Tom. I., p. 144. As a consequence of the French wars, Braz Cubas, in 1560, received a royal order for the erection of a fort at Santos, with presumably a small garrison under "the Captaine."

On August 31, 1589, Braz Cubas is recorded as having given a site to the first Carmelite congregation in South America, to found their convent at Santos.<sup>1</sup> But difficult times were now coming for the Portuguese in Brasil. They were laid open to the hostile attentions of the enemies of Spain, in passing under the Spanish crown, particularly of the Dutch and English. On Saturday, December 15, 1591, two ships belonging to Thomas Cavendish's last expedition arrived in Santos Sound, and on Sunday morning, while the people of Santos were at Mass, landing parties in the ships' boats rowed into the harbour, landed, and surrounded the church.<sup>2</sup> The main purpose of the English landing was to reprovision their fleet. But presumably Captain Cocke, who led the raid, was thinking also of personal gain, for he held the congregation, shut up in the church, to ransom. Meanwhile, according to the Portuguese account, the Englishmen got drunk.<sup>3</sup> The English account merely speaks of Cocke's "negligence." But both accounts agree that the inhabitants of Santos gave their captors the slip, and took with them everything of value. "Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare, without people and provision." San Vicente was only six miles away, but it was to the bush that the Portuguese escaped, and on January 22 Cavendish burnt San Vicente to the ground, before sailing south.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar, *op. cit.*, p. 97, and Constancio, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> See the eye-witness account by M. J. Jane, in Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pp. 842-52. The occasion was Cavendish's ill-fated attempt to repeat the circumnavigation of the globe. The little garrison was apparently in church, and the Englishmen killed the one look-out man before he could give warning.

<sup>3</sup> So Constancio, *op. cit.*, Tom. I., p. 197. Also J. I. Abreu e Lima, *Historia do Brasil* (1843), p. 97. "Cocke, em lugar de assegurar-se do resgate immediatamente, perde um tempo precioso entregando-se com os seus à intemperança. Os colonos aproveitando as trevas e o somno dos piratas, fogem para o interior com todas as suas riquezas."

<sup>4</sup> Cavendish eventually was reduced to bargaining for stores at Santos, and does not seem to have burnt the town. The decline of Santos seems rather to follow from the decline of the *Capitania* as the result of the Dutch wars.



Braz Cubas lived to see this calamity, but apparently it was his death-blow. In Frei Gaspar's day, the tombstone from his tomb in the chancel of Santos church was preserved in the presbytery. It bore the inscription: "The tomb of Braz Cubas, cavalier and nobleman of the royal house. He founded and constituted this town, being the Captain-general. Also the Casa da Misericordia. In 1543 he discovered gold and other metals. In 1560 he erected the Fort, by order of King João III. He died in 1592."<sup>1</sup>

This inscription evidently was composed some while after his death, to preserve his memory as founder of the town. It argues that he had not left behind him a family to inherit his place. In all this there is no room for a *Comendador*, or rather Braz Cubas excludes the possibility of Santos having been made a *commenda*, by holding all the power under a different title. But *Comendadeira* was a title which ladies could hold in their own right. (Never, apparently, do they seem to receive it as being wife to a *Comendador*.) We are left, therefore, with the possibility that Dona Ilena received Santos *in commendam* on the death of Braz Cubas. There seems to be no record of any such royal grant. But perhaps we ought not to read any so precise a sense into the use of the title *Comendadeira* by da Costa and Pinheyro, in this instance. In general, a *Comendadeira* is a lady who receives in trust the authority, administrative and military, in a certain place or district. Consequently, if Dona Ilena was Braz Cubas' widow, and retained, not indeed his offices in the *Capitania*, but what may be roughly described as his "manorial" rights in Santos, the courtesy-title of *Comendadeira* may have been the most appropriate. It is difficult to see any title more appropriate, or, on the other hand, any more probable solution of the problem raised by the title.

If, then, Dona Ilena was the wife of Braz Cubas, who must

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

Sepultura do Braz Cubas, Cavalleiro Fidalgo da Caza d'el Rey. Fundo e fes esta Villa, sendo Capitam; e Caza da Misericordia. Anno de 1543 descobrio oro e metaes. Anno de '60, fez Fortaleza por mandado d'El Rey D. João III. Falleceo no anno de 1592.

have been a septuagenarian when he died, she herself would be likely to be well on in years, and born, say, in the 1530's. These points, taken in conjunction with the fact that she had been personally known to Queen Catherine, give a clue to her probable history. For Queen Catherine had interested herself very specially in the question of suitable wives for young Portuguese gentlemen who went to the colonies. The problem was as important as it was difficult of solution. Such men could do little to help themselves, very few being able to take out Portuguese wives of their own social class. Portuguese women of a lower class must have adventured the journey to the Indies of East or West in surprising number, seeing that as early as 1530 we read of the Portuguese *donas e donzellas* of Goa and Chaul giving their jewelry to supply funds of war to the Governor.<sup>1</sup> It so came about that gentlemen of rank who died in the service of the Crown overseas frequently left children, brought up in their own houses, but either illegitimate or having no connections on their mother's side that might secure their standing in Portuguese society. In this state of things, distressing in itself, the clever Queen saw the promise of a solution for the future. At her instigation, King João III. founded, in 1543, an orphanage for twenty-one girls, daughters of gentlemen who had died in his service in the colonies.<sup>2</sup> Here they were brought up as the Queen's wards, educated as ladies, but with such training as would fit them for the colonial life to which they were destined. The Queen's plan was that when, from time to time, a batch of them reached

<sup>1</sup> J. Freire de Andrade, *Vida de Dom João de Castro* (1747), p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> For the story of the founding of the orphanage, and of the part played by the orphans in the founding of the families of Brasil, see the *Revista do Instituto historico e geographico do Brasil*, Tom. LII. (1889), in which is published from the manuscript of Antonio de Santa Maria Jaboatão, written in 1768, his *Catalogo Genealogico das Principaes Familias da Bahia*. The author gives as his sources, a *Theatro Genealogico*, of Manoel de Carvalho de Ataíde, and the registers of the *Camara Ecclesiastica* at Bahia. In the volume of the *Revista* mentioned, on p. 78, is given a note on the foundation of the Orphanage of Nossa Senhora da Encarnação, *para sustentação de 21 orfãos honradas, filhas de ministros, e ainda fidalgas, cujos pais houvessem falecido em servico da corôa*.

marriageable age,<sup>1</sup> they should be shipped to a colony under the custodianship of missionaries, together with a Royal Letter to the Governor,<sup>2</sup> calling on him to marry them "com a decencia possivel" to the most suitable colonists, and in lieu of dowry, to give their husbands accelerated promotion.<sup>3</sup> In this way the Queen promised herself the founding of a vigorous colonial aristocracy, able to maintain Portuguese culture adapted to its new conditions.

Half a dozen of the Queen's wards sailed for Brasil in 1551, in the fleet commanded by Antonio de Oliveira de Carvalhal, and under the guardianship of Jesuit Fathers.<sup>4</sup> Three of them became the ancestresses of great Brazilian families, namely, Violante Deça, Clementia Doria and Catherine Lobo. The first of these is known to have been the illegitimate daughter of João Deça, Captain of Goa. These three stand full in the light of history, because the records of their descendants remained in the *Camara Ecclesiastica* of Bahia to testify to them. But the memory of the others died, presumably because they did not leave children to keep it alive.

Here, then, is the possible story of Dona Ilena. Daughter of a noble de Castro, she came to be brought up in the Queen's orphanage,<sup>5</sup> and was sent out by the Queen to be married in

<sup>1</sup> Girls were to be drafted out at intervals of three years.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, "com carta para os vice-reis as casarem com a decencia possivel, preferindo as nos provimentos dos officios para seos dotes."

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 177, mentions a Brazilian colonist who obtained the office of *Provedor da alfandega da nova cidade do Salvador* in this way. One of the Queen's orphans, sent abroad in this way, became Queen of the Maldives.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, "recomendando el-rei e a rainha ao Governador cazasse as taes donzellas com as pessoas principaes que houvesse na terra."

Simão de Vasconcellos, *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil* (1663) records this consignment of brides *sub anno*, and says that the Jesuit missionaries in Oliveira's fleet were the appointed guardians of the *estado temporal das orfãs*. He speaks of them, with some bluntness, as "orfãs mandadas pella Rainha Dona Catherina pera ca se casarem, e povoarem a terra."

<sup>5</sup> The queen had two ladies named de Castro among her maids of honour (Dona Maria and Dona Felippa).

Her Camereira-môr was the wife of Diogo de Castro, Alcaide de Sabugal.

Our Dona Ilena may have stood in some oblique relationship to these great ladies.

Brasil, with these other orphans, in 1551.<sup>1</sup> She became the wife of Braz Cubas, one of the most worthy gentlemen in Brasil. The fleet that brought her, brought him also the charter for his Casa da Misericordia, and the marriage set him still further in favour with the Sovereign. They were childless, but in all other respects fortune smiled on them until the fatal Sunday in 1591. It is interesting that the relics with which we are concerned were part of that night's salvage. We may suppose that the relic from Rome had been given to Dona Ilena by Queen Catherine when she set out on her adventure across the seas, as a pledge of the protection of heaven in all changes and chances that might befall her.

The point of interest, now, is to discover where it was that she gave her relics into the hands of Father da Costa, nearly three years after the catastrophe at Santos, and the death of her husband. It cannot have been in Brasil. The interval between July 1, when Dona Ilena gave the relics to da Costa, and November 8, when he certified his donation to São Roque at Lisbon, would just allow of the voyage home from Brasil, under favourable conditions.<sup>2</sup> But the whole time of da Costa's absence from Portugal is too short to make it reasonable to suppose that he went to Brasil and back. Moreover, there is nothing else but this connection with

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that the eleventh child of Violante Deça bore the name of Elena de Castro, and that Violante's eldest granddaughter was called Elena Gonzalez de Castro. Perhaps there was a de Castro strain in the ancestry of Violante's husband, João de Araujo de Sousa. But even so, the adoption of the name by these girls, together with the fact that they were christened Elena, might point to an Elena de Castro as their godmother. It would be the more appropriate if the godmother had no child of her own, and she were the schoolfellow of Violante in the Queen's orphanage. Such conjecture is of the most tentative kind. Our Dona Ilena is a person of whose existence all other positive record seems to have been lost.

<sup>2</sup> Cavendish, on his voyage round the world, took from June 10 to October 31, to make the journey from London to Cape Frio. In 1591 he left Plymouth on August 26, and sighted the Brazilian coast on November 29. These times represent outright sailing by a fleet of discovery. The trading vessels of the Portuguese would generally expend some time in the island ports *en route*, Madeira and Cape Verd going out, and the Azores coming home, according to the wind; though royal vessels might make much faster passages.

Dona Ilena to suggest that he ever was in Brasil, in any capacity.

On the other hand, two things point to the fact that the place of his meeting with Dona Ilena was fairly remote from Lisbon. The first is that Father Pinheyro, who witnessed the donation of the relics by Dona Ilena, should have felt it worth while, at a later date, and quite independently of da Costa, to write his own certificate of the transaction, and to deposit it in the case containing the more important relic. The other is that da Costa apparently thought of Dona Ilena as "a Comendadeira de Santos" without the qualification that would have had to be adopted where that title designated a well-known, high, and ancient office. It is as though a Fellow of an Oxford college, returned from a visit to the Antipodes, deposited in the college library some New Zealand publications given to him by "the Dean of Christchurch." But while it would be natural for him to inscribe the volumes in this way, somebody would be sure to guard against ambiguity by noting the donation as made by "the Dean of Christchurch Cathedral, New Zealand." So our second paper calls the donatrix "Comendadeira *da villa de Santos*." The omission by da Costa of the words in italics may then be taken as arguing that his acquaintance with Dona Ilena had been far away from Lisbon. Now Sotwell's note on da Costa states that he was Rector of Braga and Visitor of Terceira. This should mean that he had before him information which showed that after his Rectorship at Braga, da Costa made a visitation of the Society in the Azores. He became Preposito of the new Professa at Faro, in South Portugal, in 1600, and was only brought back to Lisbon to die, in 1604. So we have the possibility that it was in the Azores, in 1594, that he met Dona Ilena.

Now the orthography of the signature on deed No. 70 may be uncertain, but the identity of the signatory is clear of doubt. It is that of Father Luis Pinheyro, who was much at São Roque after da Costa had ceased to be there. He was a Portuguese, born at Aveiro in 1560, and received into the

Society in 1576.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years later he was Rector, for four years, of the College at Ponta Delgada, on the island of San Miguel in the Azores. He returned to São Roque in 1600, and though Franco has strangely overlooked him, the *Obituarios* show that he there died and was buried in 1620. During that interval of twenty years he also was Visitor of the Azores. And in 1616 he was *Procurador* for the provinces under the crown of Portugal at Madrid, during which time he brought out there his history, in Spanish, of the Jesuit missions in Japan.<sup>2</sup> Much of the twenty years he was a member of São Roque.

It is more probable than not that his earlier residence in the Azores began before his appointment as Rector of the Ponta Delgada College, and that, in fact, he was there in 1594. At no subsequent date does it appear possible that he was in the same place as da Costa, except just when the latter lay dying. This makes it fairly sure that the scene of our donation of relics was in the Azores, and at the same time fixes da Costa's visitation there as ending in 1594. The earliest date for his departure for the Azores is after his return from Madrid in 1592, and it is possible that it was in connection with his visitation that he went to Madrid, after being relieved from his duties as Rector at Braga. The space of time thus given for the visitation is just what might reasonably be expected.<sup>3</sup> The presence of Dona Ilena in the Azores in 1594 might mean that there were connections in the islands with whom she could find a home. But it is perhaps more probable that she had reached the Azores in an attempt to return to Portugal to end her days. Two things point to the fact that she was dying when she gave the relics into da Costa's hands. He speaks of her as dead in his deed of November, 1594, and he had returned

<sup>1</sup> For Pinheyro we have only Sotwell and Sommervogel. The *Obituarios* register his burial in the chancel of São Roque (No. 140).

For his office in Ponta Delgada, see Cordeyro, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> This appears from the preface to his book, which is called *Relacion del sucesso que tuvo nuestra santa fe en los Reynos del Japon*. The author's name is there spelt Luys Pineyro. Sotwell calls him Pinarius.

<sup>3</sup> Ignacio Martins was appointed Visitor of the Azores in 1571, and appears in office in Portugal again in 1574. See above, p. 57, note.

from the Azores to Lisbon in the brief interval between that time and the date of the donation as given by Pinheyro. She must have died very soon after July 1, therefore. Further, the fact that at a much later time Pinheyro could certify that July 1 was the date on which the donation had taken place, means that he had something to fix the day in his memory. Nothing would be more likely to do this than a note of her *obit* day in his private calendar. And that he should, from that, name the day of the donation, argues that it was while she was actually dying. It is therefore a picture of some pathos with which we are presented: of an old colonial lady, probably in the middle sixties, broken by misfortune, turning homewards only to die by the way; served on her death-bed by a Father of the Society under whose guardianship she had gone out, as a girl, to her colonial life; to which, since she has none of her own to receive them, she gives these prized relics which have shared all her adventures, that they may go back to the Lisbon that she cannot reach; and of his bringing to her the Visitor of his Order, just about to sail for Portugal, into whose hands she puts her gift. So the relics came by the hands of da Costa to São Roque. And after he was gone to Faro, or after he was dead, the Father who had been present with him by Dona Ilena's death-bed, wrote deed No. 70, and placed it in the reliquary to supplement his 1594 certificate.

We can now turn back to the third giver of relics to São Roque by the hand of da Costa, namely, Dom Agostinho, Archbishop of Braga from 1589 to 1609.<sup>1</sup> He gave relics of the Holy Innocents and of a certain St. Susanna. He also was a native of Lisbon, born in 1537 to Fernando de Castro and his wife Maria de Ayala, gentlefolk of Lisbon, though not of the highest. His secular name was Pedro de Castro. But on his entry into religion as an Augustine hermit he took the name of Agostinho de Jesus. After a few years in the Order,

<sup>1</sup> For Dom Agostinho, see Roderigo da Cunha, *Historia Ecclesiastica dos Arcebispos de Braga* (1635), Pt. II., pp. 400-420.

There is a notice of him in Balthazar Tellez, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 418.

For his family, see Caetano de Sousa, *op. cit.*, Tom. XI., Lib. 13, c. 4.

in 1574, he became Provincial for the Province of Upper Germany, and so continued till 1581. In this way he came into contact with the Empress Maria, and advanced himself so much in her favour that she made him her Pregador. And as with Father Antonio, this led to his return, in her suite, to Madrid in 1581. Like Borgia, he made a great collection of relics during his stay in Germany.<sup>1</sup> These he took with him to Braga, and gave some to his new Augustinian nunnery of Nossa Senhora do Populo, and others to the High Altar of his Cathedral, at its consecration in 1592. He was very favourable to the Jesuits, and at once gave them privileges at Braga.<sup>2</sup> Da Costa arrived there at about the same time as the Archbishop, and evidently their relations became cordial, so that the Archbishop gave him relics which he in turn gave to São Roque. The relics of the Holy Innocents are most likely part of his German collection. Not so the relic of St. Susanna. She was a native martyr of Braga, whose relics had been stolen from Braga in 1102, and carried off to Compostella. This was a matter of controversy between the two sees. Dom Agostinho, as setting a high value on relics, reopened it, and obtained from Compostella a gift of relics of the stolen Braga martyrs. Of this he evidently gave a share to da Costa. The latter does not say in his deed that the gift was intended for São Roque, but neither does he in the case of Dona Ilена's gift. As the Archbishop was a Lisbon man, it is quite possible.<sup>3</sup> It seems that he cannot have given any certificates with the relics.

The year 1594 probably saw also the reception at São Roque

<sup>1</sup> R. da Cunha, *loc. cit.* p. 411, describes his collection of relics from Germany as arriving "ricamente ornadas." The Archbishop affords some parallel to Borgia, except that there is no sign of an equal interest in documentation.

<sup>2</sup> Franco, *Synopsis*, under 1589, records the grant from the new Archbishop to the Jesuits of Braga, to have public sermons on festivals, in their new church.

<sup>3</sup> He gave relics to Dona Anna de Lencastro, which she gave to the church of the Convent of Santos (Agostinho da Santa Maria, *op. cit.*, Tom. III., p. 488). The inference is that he was directed rather by motives of personal friendship with Lisbon people than by interest in the Lisbon churches.



of yet another gift of relics brought from Italy by the third member of the Portuguese delegation to the *Comitia* of 1593 namely, João Correa. The record is preserved in our deed No. 69, the text of which is as follows:<sup>1</sup>

I, João Correa, priest professed of the Company of Jesus, certify that I have given to the house of São Roque of the same Company, six relics, to wit, part of an arm and a rib and four other relics, all six being those of holy martyrs of Trier, which I brought from Florence. And a Father of our Company gave them to me, and he had the certificate of their authenticity. Upon which information, the Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, Dom Miguel de Castro, received them as approved and authentic, for placing in our church, this 15th day of October, 1594, Father Manoel de Siqueira being the Preposito of this house. And for verity I have signed here.

IHS

MANOEL DE SIQUEIRA.

L.S.

JOÃO CORREA.

João Correa<sup>2</sup> was a native of Oporto who joined the Society in 1560 at Coimbra, and then spent twenty years as a member of the Casa de São Roque. He became Rector of Coimbra in 1581, which office he held until his election as Provincial in 1588. He was Provincial four years, after which he was elected

<sup>1</sup> Portuguese text:

Certifico eu, Joam Correa, Sacerdote professo da Companhia de JESU, que eu dei á Casa de S. Roque da mesma Companhia seis Reliquias; Parte de hum braço e hua costa, e quatro outras reliquias, todas seis dos santos martires de Treveris, que troxe de Florença; e m'as deu hum Padre da Nossa Companhia, e ouve o estromento autentico dellas; com a qual confirmação, o senhor Arcebispo de Lisboa, Dom Miguel de Castro, as ouve por aprovadas e autenticas para se porem em nossa Igreja, aos 15 de Outubro de 1594, sendo Preposito desta casa o Padre Manoel de Siqueira. E por verdade, asinei aqui.

IHS

MANOEL DE SIQUEIRA.

L.S.

JOÃO CORREA.

<sup>2</sup> For Correa, see Franco, *op. cit.*, Sotwell and Sommervogel and the *Obituaries* of São Roque. The *Annuaire Littéraire* for 1601 contains a notice of his death.

to represent the Province at the fifth *Congregatio Generalis* at Rome in 1593. In 1599 he went to Madrid as Procurator, and on his return in 1601 was re-elected Provincial, but died on May 19, at São Roque. The *Obituarios*, in entry No. 170 which records his *obit*, call him an assiduous *Confessarius*, and note that he had been Vice-preposito, and Provincial Visitor of the Rule under commission from Aquaviva. He was evidently one of the most trusted and beloved members of the province.

The "holy martyrs of Trier" were the saints of the Theban Legion. Correa tells us very little as to the circumstances by which the relics came into his hands. But it is possible to make good what is lacking in his deed by reference to another paper in the tin box, our deed No. 46.

This is a very formal document issued in the office of the Vicar-general of Florence, following a pattern which, as will be seen later, he apparently employed for passing relics out of Italy. The Vicar-general at this time was Antonio Benivieni, *Cancellus Florentinus*, the Archbishop for whom he acted being Alexander de Medici, then Cardinal, and afterwards Pope Leo XI. He certifies that "on this day, as named below, the Reverend Father Emmanuel Ximenes,<sup>1</sup> of the Society of Jesus, appeared in person before us, and presented papers under the hand of Paul Leusler,<sup>2</sup> Rector of the college at Trier, dated in March of 1592, duly drawn up and witnessed, in which Leusler certifies that he had obtained from the Benedictine monastery of "Himelrode,"<sup>3</sup> situate six hours' journey from Trier, and

<sup>1</sup> For Manoel Ximenes, see Sotwell, *Bibliotheca*, s.n. Aguilera, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 235, tells of the sending of P. Emmanuel Ximenes, *Lusitanus*, with title of Rector, to Trapani, and his success in raising funds and obtaining buildings, in 1580.

<sup>2</sup> This is the right orthography, as see B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, Tom. I., p. 99, note 4, drawing on a MS. list of Rectors. He appears as Leuser and Leyser in Brower. The material for any account of his career seems to be still unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> For the Cistercian abbey of Hemmenrode, see N. Hees, *Manipulus Hemmenrodensis*, published in the Cologne edition of Jongelin's *Notitia abbatiarum Ord. Cisterc.* (1640). And see L. Janauschek, *op. cit.*, p. 31, with bibliography.

having as abbot John Roder,<sup>1</sup> of St. Vitus, the skull and two bones of St. Martin, Bishop of Trier,<sup>2</sup> and five bones of martyrs from among the Eleven Thousand Virgins, the latter having been taken to Himelrode fifty years previously, with certificates from Cologne." After showing his papers, Father Manoel Ximenes introduced Father Nicolas Ximenes. And then the two Fathers

more Religiosorum, tacto pectore medio eorum,<sup>3</sup> et cujuslibet eorum juramento in manibus nostris delato, tacto scripturis sacrosanctis ad sancta Dei Evangelia præstito, dixerunt . . .

Their sworn declaration was to the effect that Father Leusler had seen to the enclosing in *capsulæ* of the relics which he certified, and that then they had borne them to Florence. Then Father Manoel Ximenes proceeded in like manner to declare that he conceded and gave the relics to Father Cysneros:

Idem Pater Emmanuel similiter asseruit donasse et concessisse (prout patenter quantum opus sit de novo donavit, concedit et donat) Reverendo Patri Diogo Cisneros.

This donation was made "per cancellum nostrum" on October 19, 1593. The deed was countersigned at Lisbon on March 16, 1595, by Father Thomas da Cruz. But it has neither seal nor signature of Benivieni. That is to say, it is a copy, and not the original. Where that is the case, it usually

<sup>1</sup> For Roder, abbot from 1581 to 1596, see Hees, *op. cit.*, p. 38. Also C. Browerus and J. Masenius, *Antiquitatum et Annalium Trevirensium libri xxv* (1670). A re-edition of this work by C. von Stramberg, entitled *Metropolis ecclesiæ Trevericæ* (1855-6), gives his account of Roder, Tom. II., p. 131; pp. 281 and 290 of the same volume contain mentions of Leusler. But Brower evidently had no list of the Rectors to draw on, and makes the mistake of extending Leusler's office until his death in 1608. He was, however, succeeded by John Ghilsius in 1595. See list in Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten*, Bd. I., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> St. Martin appears as tenth in the mythical list of early bishops of Trier, compiled in 1078 at the abbey of St. Matthias at Trier, and preserved in one of the codices of the Queen of Sweden's collection at the Vatican (S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Trierer Kirchen*, Pt. I., pp. 180-3).

<sup>3</sup> For this manner of taking oath, see *s.v.* Juramentum in C. du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores medii et infimæ Latinitatis* (Frankfurt, 1710), Tom. II., Pt. II., p. 176.

means that the relics mentioned in the deed have been subsequently divided. This is the more likely here, in that the "Descobrimento" list shows a small relic of St. Martin of Trier, but not the skull.

The person who divided the relics and gave some to São Roque should be de Cysneros. He had left Italy in the late summer of 1592. Our relics did not arrive in Italy until the next year. But so high must Father de Cysneros have stood in the favour of his colleagues in Italy, that they sent after him these relics. Father Correa, on the other hand, was in Italy till after the arrival there of the two Fathers from Trier. We may suppose, therefore, that they brought his six relics of Theban martyrs, and that the *estromento autentico* which he says was in the possession of the Father who gave him these relics, was also a certificate under the hand of Father Paul Leusler.

Father Manoel Ximenes was a Portuguese, though working in Italy. His one distinction was that in 1580 he founded the new Jesuit College at Trapani, and was first Rector there. Father Nicolas Ximenes was of no distinction.

Father Paul Leusler was Rector of the College at Trier from 1589 to 1595, but is not otherwise distinguished. We see him here engaged, on the lines of the general policy of the Society, in collecting relics where opportunity might arise. To this end he visited the famous Cistercian abbey of Hemmenrode (which he calls by its popular nickname, Himelrode).

John Roder of St. Vitus was the forty-third abbot, and held office from 1581 to 1596. He was a scholarly man, several of whose pupils came to be writers in later years.

The abbey of Hemmenrode was very rich in relics, as may be seen from the list given in N. Hees, *Manipulus Hemmenrodensis*, bound up in the 1640 edition of Jongelin's *Notitia* (Cologne). Relics of the Theban martyrs and the Ursuline Virgins were particularly plentiful there. But Leusler apparently got all the relics there were of St. Martin of Trier, for none appear in Hees' list.

Deed No. 53 shews the consignment of a few catacomb relics

from Rome, under licence of Clement VIII., by the hand of a Father Domenico Rinaldo, to a certain *Pater Baldessar*, on April 11, 1595. Next year Don Juan de Borgia sent further relics to São Roque with a certificate under his own hand and seal. It is very uninformative, and shews how little important the historical evidence for a relic appeared in his eyes. The certificate is in Castilian, and runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Don Juan de Borja, Count of Mayalda, Chief Chamberlain to the Empress my mistress;

I declare that I have given to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus belonging to the house of São Roque in the city of Lisbon, a rib of one of the Holy Innocents which I obtained in Germany, from a place where it had been kept and venerated as genuine for many years past. And forasmuch as this is the truth, and the said holy Relic can be put in a public place and venerated by the faithful, I have given this certificate and testimonial, signed by my hand and sealed with my seal, in Madrid, the fifth of November, in the year one thousand, five hundred and ninety-six.

L.S.

DON JUAN DE BORJA.

The seal is unfortunately damaged, and the first part of the signature is a *griffe*, of which I can make nothing but DON JUAN. This dry little deed is numbered in the tin box as deed No. 76.

We may, in conclusion, take with the deeds of this decade, deed No. 9, which actually falls in the beginning of 1601, but stands with this group by its associations. It certifies an "extraction" from the catacombs, but the relics were passed

<sup>1</sup> Castilian text:

Don Juan de Borja, Conde de Mayalde, Mayordomo mayor dela Emperatris mia señora, digo que yo he dado alos padres de la Compania de Jesus de la Casa de S. Roque de la Ciudad de Lisboa, una costilla de los sanctos niños Innocentes, laqual huve en Alemania de lugar donde era tenuta, y venerada por tal de muchos años atras y para conste desta verdad, y la dicta Sancta Reliquia pueda ser puesta en lugar publico y venerada por tal de los fieles Christianos, di esta fe y testimonio firmado de mi mano y sellado con mi sello en Madrid, a cinco de noviembre de mill y quinientos y noventa y seis años.

L.S.

DON JUAN DE BORJA.

through the court of the Vicar-general of Florence for exportation to Portugal. It gives us the procedure of that court in its fullest elaboration, and has the further interest that it involves two of the more notable Jesuits of the time, Giovanni Francesco Carettoni, a Roman, and Director there of the Congregation of Our Lady of the Assumption, of nobles and prelates, and the still more noted Francisco Suarez, the Jesuit theologian. In this deed, Benivieni<sup>1</sup> is replaced as Vicar-general by Cosimo dell'Antella,<sup>2</sup> a member of a well-known Florentine family. And the text of the deed is as follows:

Cosmus Antellensis, jurisconsultus et Canc<sup>o</sup> (cancellus?) Florentinus, Prothonotarius Apostolicus, Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi domini, Domini Alexandri Medices, episcopi Albanensis, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, et Archiepiscopi Florentini Vicarius in Spiritualibus et temporalibus Generalis,

Universis et singulis ad quos præsentés advenerint, Salutem in Domino sempiternam!

Fidem facimus et attestamur hodie coram nobis cancello (?) ac testibus infradictis personaliter comparuisse Reverendum in Christo Patrem, Joannem Franciscum Carettonium, presbyterum Societatis Jesu, et medio suo jurato tacto pectore, more Religiosarum personarum, ad sancta Dei Evangelia in manibus suis, sponsu prestito dixisse, et attestatum fuisse,<sup>3</sup> se, vigore supplicationis Apostlicæ sibi exhibitæ, et nobis

<sup>1</sup> The Benivieni of Florence were a notable mediæval Florentine family who provided the first of the Priors of Florence, Giovanni di Benivieni, in 1383, while seven other bearers of the name also held that office. The family had lost importance by the time of our deed, and died out in the seventeenth century. See Crollalanza, *Dizionario delle famiglie Italiane*, s.n.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* The della Antellas took their name from the village of Antella, being of German origin and becoming possessed of that "dominio." They came to great influence in Florence and provided fifteen Gonfalonieri and no less than 42 Priori. But this family was also losing importance at the time of our deed, and died out at the close of the seventeenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Du Cange, *l.c.*, describes an oath taken by King Henry III. of England in the terms "et jurans hoc appositum manum suam dexteram ad pectus suum, more sacerdotis, et postea supra evangelis apposita."

The principle is that a priest or Religious is not to be made to take oath *corporaliter*, that is with his hand on the altar, on relics, or any sacred thing, as is required of lay persons.

ostensæ, emanatæ ab Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo domino, Domino Cardinali Rusticuccio, sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ vicario generali, subdatum Romæ xxii<sup>a</sup> Januarii, Millesimo sexcentesimo, ex actis Domini Hieronimi Marriotti publici Notarii, per hominem fide dignum, e Romano cymeterio in sepulchro in quo erat inscriptum nomen, cepisse sacram reliquiam, nempe os sancti Lucii Papæ et martyris, et ex eademmet ipsa sacra reliquia partem, titulo donationis (quæ dicitur inter vivos) donasse Reverendo Patri Francisco Sueri ex eadem Societate Jesuita (prout iterum, quantum opus sit, dedit et donavit).<sup>1</sup>

Hosque requisivisse ut de predictis fidem indubiam facere dignaremur, prout tenore præsentium vobis et omnibus nostrarum fidem facimus et attestamur; in quorum fidem præsentibus manu nostra firmatas fieri et per cancellum (?) nostrum subscriptas, in appensione soliti sigilli muniri jussimus.

Datum et actum Florentiæ, in nostro archiepiscopali palatio, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis Millesimo sexcentesimo primo, indictione quindecima, die vero quinta mensis Martii, Clemente Octavo summo Pontifice, et serenissimo Domino Ferdinando Medices Dei gratiâ Etruriæ Magno Duce dominante, præsentibus ibidem venerando Joanne Antonio de Riccianibus, presbytero Fesulanæ diocesis, et Felippo Joanne de Massinis, familiaribus nostris, testibus adhibitis atque rogatis.

COSMUS ANTELLENSIS,  
*Vicarius generalis Florentinus.*

EUFROSIMUS DE MILANESIIS A VULPARIA,  
L.S. *Cancello (?) de magistro supradicto.*

On each occasion the abbreviation *Canc'* is used.

Here we see the Roman Jesuit Carettoni<sup>2</sup> playing the same

<sup>1</sup> This phrase is exactly similar to that used in deed No. 46. It seems to define "donation" to an absent person, so as to cover subsequent changes of hands.

The journey home for Spanish and Portuguese ecclesiastics on leaving Rome seems commonly to have been made by road to Florence, and then by ship from Leghorn, to avoid the longer and more troublesome sea journey. Florence was the point therefore where their route parted company with that of the pilgrims returning to Germany.

<sup>2</sup> For Carettoni, see Sommervogel, *op. cit.*

Born at Rome in 1556, his whole life's work was there, and he died there in 1639. He edited the *Annuaire Litteræ*, 1590-1592. He had a great reputation as a preacher, and it is interesting in view of his action as shewn in our document, that he preached the funeral sermon for Clement VIII. before the Sacred College.

part in a gift of a relic to the absent Suarez that Ximenes had played in one destined for the absent Cysneros. The great interest of this donation is the significance it has in connection with Suarez' submission to the papal condemnation of a proposition in his *Summa*.<sup>1</sup> He had sent a *Gravis epistola ad Clementem VIII.* in support of his proposition, to Rome, addressing it, of course, through Aquaviva. On February 18, 1601, Aquaviva wrote urging the inexpediency of presenting the protest at that juncture. And a fortnight later we see a relic of rather special interest being passed through the court of the Florentine Vicar-general by an important Roman Jesuit, on intimate terms with the Pope, to be despatched to Suarez as a personal gift. It is a very eloquent proof of confidence and sympathy, meant clearly to temper the blow to which Suarez was submitting.

The particular interest of the relic of St. Lucius<sup>2</sup> is that

<sup>1</sup> Francisco Suarez was born at Granada in 1548, and received into the Society at Coimbra in 1565. He taught philosophy at Segovia, and then at Valladolid. He was then five years at Rome, eight at Alcalá, and one at Salamanca. By this time his reputation as a theologian was formed, and Philip II. sent him to Coimbra as Regius Professor of Theology in 1597 (see Franco, *Annus Gloriosus*, September 25).

He at once became the object of jealousies. He had not yet his doctor's degree, and this was bestowed by Evora in 1597 with a view to his appointment at Coimbra. He began work there in 1598. Almost at once, non-Jesuit theologians found a ground of attack in his proposition that a priest could, upon receipt of a written and signed confession from a dying man at a distance, pronounce his absolution. Banez began a demonstration against him in 1599. Suarez was, at the time, preparing for the press his *Summa*, and he had this proposition on the absolution of an absent person standing in type at Rome. Just on the eve of publication, in 1601, the Pope condemned the proposition in general that absolution could be given *in absentia*. The passage in the printed copies of the *Summa* therefore had to be blocked out, before the books were released.

The lives prefacing editions of his works, such as that in his *Opuscula sex inedita*, by J. B. Malou, Bishop of Bruges, in 1859, or before his *Tractatus de Religione, S.J.*, by G. de Reverseaux, Brussels, 1858, are so much of panegyrics that they do not afford much historical information. The first-named work, however, gives the story of the *Summa*, p. 215. See also H. J. Coleridge, in *The Month*, 1865, p. 176. Suarez was buried in São Roque, and the entry in the *Obituarios* is No. 152, and reads "Dr. Francisco Suares, ob. 1617."

I have not been able to see the biography by A. R. Garcia de Vasconcellos, *Francisco Suarez, Doctor Eximius* (1897).

<sup>2</sup> See article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *sub nomine*.



some relics of this Pope had been discovered in 1599 in the church of St. Cæcilia in Rome. His tomb was in the catacomb of St. Callixtus. It had been opened by Pascal I. in the ninth century. But the cultus declined, until the discovery in 1599 revived it. Hence this renewal of extractions. The gift sent to Suarez was the appropriate one of the moment. And the presence of the deed in the tin box shews that Suarez left it to the house where his last days were spent. In contrast with deed No. 46, deed No. 9 is a signed and sealed original.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE REMAINING DOCUMENTS

THERE still remain thirty-four deeds of authentication of relics in the tin box for brief notice. With the coming of the seventeenth century, that phase of Counter-reformation sentiment and history which gives its peculiar interest to the earlier group of documents, passed, and the later authentications are pieces of routine business. They consist of the following series: No. 27, dated 1604; Nos. 20, 33, 41, and 80 in 1608; No. 61 in 1610; Nos. 45 and 59 in 1611; Nos. 43 (i.), 54 (ii.) and 57 in 1617; No. 10 in 1618; No. 73 in 1631; No. 51 in 1643; Nos. 64 and 65 in 1662; No. 62 in 1663; No. 25 in 1680; No. 71 in 1681; Nos. 58 (i.) and 77 in 1687; and in the early eighteenth century, Nos. 11, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38 (i.), 40, 49, 68 and 74. Among these are thirteen printed certificates from Rome, authenticating relics drawn principally from the catacombs. They are Nos. 64 and 65 (1662), No. 58 (i.) (1687), and Nos. 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38 (i.), 40 and 74 (eighteenth century). Deed No. 71, of 1681, and deed No. 49, of 1731, are hand-written, but drawn in the same form as the printed certificates. The remainder are mostly simple hand-written certificates on paper, without seals. In two cases, deeds Nos. 45 and 57, the ink must have been acid, and has eaten through the paper. Taken as a whole, these later deeds may be of use to historians of the Jesuit Society, but call for no further notice here.

An example may be given of the Roman printed certificate form, in deed No. 74, which runs as follows:

SIMON GRITTI,

Dei, et Apostolicæ S. Sedis gratia Episcopus Ferentinus,  
Universis et singulis præsentis nostras inspecturis Fidem  
facimus indubiam, atque testamur, quatenus nobis exhibitis

quibusdam sacris Reliquiis, eas ex authenticis locis extractas, ac documentis authenticis, sigilloque munitis recognovimus, ex quibus sequentem, videlicet particulam ossis ex brachio *B. Joannis Francisci Regis, C. Societatis Jesu, in Theca Reliquaria Argentea, forma ovata, crystalloque in anteriori parte munita, et bene clausa, filo serico coloris rubri colligato, nostroque in cera rubra hispanica impresso sigillo pro illius identitate obsignata repositam ad majorem Dei gloriam et dicti B. Joannis Francisci Regis,<sup>1</sup> C., venerationem dono dedimus, et elargiti fuimus Templo S. Rochi Domus Professæ Ulixipone Societatis Jesu, ad effectum dictam sacram Reliquiam penes se retinendi, aliis donandi, et in quacumque ecclesia, oratorio, seu capella publicæ Fidelium venerationi exponendi. In quorum fidem has præsentēs, manu nostra subscriptas, nostroque firmatas sigillo, expediri mandavimus. Datum Ferenti, ex Episcopali nostro Palatio, hac die 2 mensis Januarii, anni 1728.*

L.S.

S. Eps. Ferentinus,  
Gratis ubique.

Phillippus Jacobus Frisoni,  
Pro-secretarius.

Those words and letters in the above that are printed in italics are in the original written in ink, while the remainder of the text is printed. The same general form appears in connection with relics from the Roman catacombs. It shews

<sup>1</sup> For St. Jean François Régis, see the life by P. Daubenton, S.J., written just after the canonisation in 1737 (2nd edn., Lyons, 1741). Régis was a member of a landed family in Bas-Languedoc, born 1597 and died 1640, who spent his working life as a Jesuit missionary, in attack upon the Calvinism, and the immorality, that abounded in the towns and villages of the Cevennes. He was so effective as to win the title of "Apostle of Velay." He was beatified in 1716, and the festivities at São Roque were thought worthy of commemoration in a 27-page pamphlet by Father Luiz Gonzaga, published in Lisbon next year. Our deed is the only evidence that I have been able to find that exhumation for the purpose of removing relics took place at this stage. The body was entombed in the church of Louvesc. Presumably the Society must, in the time between the beatification and the canonisation, have obtained a licence to open the tomb, and make extractions which we here see treated as on a par with catacomb extractions. Possessing this relic, the Fathers of São Roque made even more elaborate festivities for the canonisation in 1737, which were the subject of a little book by Father Andre de Barros, called *Vaz em Roma, Ecco em Lisboa*, published in Lisbon in 1739 (Farinha, *op. cit.*, Tom. I., p. 63).

that the work of the Ordinary in controlling the movement of relics has become completely systematised.

The contents of the box are completed by two documents, both inventories. Deed No. 52 is the inventory made by the Vicar-general of Lisbon in 1683, to which reference has already been made. Deed No. 72 is an inventory of the saints whose remains are in the catacomb of St. Callixtus. This, we may suppose, was designed to inform the devotees and clients of early Roman saints whether relics of their patrons could be obtained from Rome. These, with the copies of Aquaviva's letter to Borgia granting right of sepulture in São Roque (deed No. 81), and of the papal decree of Jubilee (deed No. 83), seem to shew that the papers in the tin box were gathered together as a complete documentation of the relics of São Roque. This points back before the days of the tin box, to the arrangement of the papers in the cell of the Preposito of the house of São Roque. It is to be supposed, therefore, that we have, not the survivors out of an indefinitely larger collection of deeds that once existed, but the whole of a collection, intact, just as it was in the days when the Society was in possession of the relics and the records.

## CHAPTER XII

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

OUR documents have revealed a reaction of sentiment, on the Catholic side, in answer to the Reformation conceived as an attack upon religion and piety. This sentiment is exemplified in its greatest intensity in those authentications which originated in lands where the Catholic and Protestant causes were struggling for supremacy. It found a specially congenial object in the relics of saints. For the veneration of relics, utterly rejected by Protestants of every group, seemed a very type of Catholic piety, and an unmistakable pledge of right sentiment towards the Church.<sup>1</sup> The saints belonged to Catholicism, and the cultus of their relics gave lively reassurance of Catholic tradition, over against the novelties of the Reform. The relics themselves were objects that possessed sentimental appeal, the more particularly those of them that had been saved out of the hands of the Protestants.

In the midst of this movement of religious feeling, the Society of Jesus appeared as something which partly drew its power from the movement, and partly was an agency for its progress and stimulation. The cultus of relics accordingly occupied a prominent place in the Jesuit programme, both for the life of the Jesuit Fathers themselves, and for their intensive

<sup>1</sup> H. Hermelink, *Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Pt. III., 1911, of G. Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*), p. 198, makes the illuminating suggestion that the baroque style in ecclesiastical art which accompanies the Counter-reformation, is the faithful expression of its mentality. In baroque there is a certain floridness of display, combined with a straining after effects which are not soundly attained. And it must be admitted that the zeal of Borgia, Maria and the other cultured folk in our history, in the matter of the veneration of relics, has just such a suspicion of extravagance and pose about it. Some of their co-religionists seem, as it were, to humour them, as not taking them quite seriously. This is not to stigmatise them as insincere, but only to assert that they were reacting to a very complex situation, and found simplicity impossible.

work among the Catholic laity. So it became a regular part of the policy of the Society to obtain for each new church of which it became possessed as rich a collection of relics as was possible, and thereafter to take advantage of the public inauguration of their cult as the means of establishing the prestige of their Church locally. Examples may be found in Aguilera's history of the Sicilian province. To Calataheiro,<sup>1</sup> Father Mercurian, in 1574,

insignes sanctorum reliquias a Petro Ribadaneyra et Ferdinando Soliero summo studio contractas ex Urbe dono misit; nimirum ex ossibus sanctorum martyrum Laurentii, Sebastiani, Basilidis, Cosmæ et Damiani, Eustachii, Antonii, Vincentii et Anastasii, unius ex XL Sebastenis; item sanctorum confessorum, Juliani, Gregorii, Bernardi abbatis, Ludovici Galliarum Regis, Fulgentii pontificis, Basilii doctoris, et Petri Cœlestini Papæ; Sanctarum virginum, Pudentianæ et Praxedis, necnon Felicitatis et filiorum; denique Apostoli Andreæ, Lucæ evangelistæ, et dentem S. Cæciliæ.

Quas omnes, publicis litteris consignatas, Gaspar Satalia, qui tum collegio præerat, argenteis oculis inclusas et ære publico ornatas, populo adorandas proposuit, magno concursu et lætitia civitatis.

So likewise the *collegium Lilybætanum*<sup>2</sup> received a gift of thirty-five relics *ex Urbe*, and a procession with music and banners received them and deposited them, with festivities, in the Jesuit church. With them was also received a decree of Jubilee annually on July 21, the day of the reception. This the *conditor collegii publicis litteris consignari jussit*. These are examples that reproduce particularly closely the features of the "Recebimento" at Lisbon.<sup>3</sup> Of the care of the Society to enrich its churches with relics there is abundant and general evidence. And this extended to the provinces overseas. Two of the deeds in the tin box bear witness to the fact that São

<sup>1</sup> The modern Caltagirone. *Op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> The modern Mazzara. *Op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Further examples may be found in the general *Historia S.J.*, Pt. IV., p. 99, and Pt. V., Tom. I., p. 317. Also Tellez, *op. cit.*, Pt. I., p. 206 (donation of relics to Coimbra).

Roque had a share of a gift of relics, of which the remainder were destined for overseas.<sup>1</sup>

The lively sentiment surrounding the cultus of relics in the days of Don Juan de Borgia made the gift of relics a peculiarly happy means for the acknowledgment of obligations. Relics are gifts of infinite value to those who have the piety to appreciate them, while Canon Law prevented them from having any monetary value whatever. Such gifts afford the most delicate acknowledgment of favours that cannot be repaid in other ways. And the form and circumstances of those deeds of authentication in the tin box which record gifts of relics to individuals have frequently suggested that there was some such obligation existing on the part of the donor to the recipient. It may be taken as generally probable that where such gifts are found taking place, some such relationship exists between the persons concerned. Gifts of relics, therefore, are worth the attention of the general historian, because of their possible significance in this way.

A further point of interest with regard to our documents is the relation of the forms in which they are drawn up to the Tridentine canons.<sup>2</sup> The regularisation of relic cultus was dealt with, without controversy, at the twenty-fifth and last session of the Council, in 1563. A deputation of fifteen<sup>3</sup> was entrusted with the drawing up of a canon to cover sacred images, relic cultus and indulgences. Owing to the urgency for despatch, the last subject was omitted. The canon composed, in so far as it refers to relics, runs as follows:

Nemine licere ullo in loco . . . novas reliquias recipiendas nisi eodem recogniscente et approbante episcopo, qui simulatque de his aliquid compertum habuerit, adhibitis in consilium theologis et aliis piis viris, ea faciat, quæ veritati et pietati consentanea judicaverit.

<sup>1</sup> These are deed No. 43 (i.), where the remaining relics went to Brasil, and deed No. 50, where they went to Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> See *Concilium Tridentinum* (Görresgesellschaft) 1924, Tom. IX. (*Concilii Tridentini actorum*, Pt. VI. Stephen Ehse), p. 1069, note 1, for the method of the work; p. 1070, note 3, for the composition of the deputation; p. 1079 for the text of the canon.

<sup>3</sup> Including the Jesuit General, Laynez.

Some two or more years previously Calvin had published his *Traicté des Reliques*.<sup>1</sup> The doctrinal position there taken is that Scripture proves the cult of relics to be contrary to the will of God. But the sting of the tract lay in its keen exposure of the impossibility of genuineness of large numbers of relics exposed for veneration, combined with an appeal to Christian princes to prevent such mockery of God, and to the people to think what must be the character of a religious administration that had led to such a state of things.

It is to be noted, therefore, that the counter-reformers met the attack by ignoring it.<sup>2</sup> The Tridentine canon is not designed to promote the examination by critical methods of the authenticity of those relics that are receiving veneration. It is entirely concerned with the regulation of the practice of piety towards relics, assumed to be authentic if they have been in receipt of veneration. A relic that has not been venerated previously, as, for example, a bone of a martyr but recently exhumed from the catacombs, must be submitted to official enquiry, before it may be treated as venerable. And a relic transported from one place to another must be submitted to the authority of the Ordinary in its new resting-place before it may be exhibited for public veneration. In

<sup>1</sup> The tract is not dated, but an English translation by Stephen Wythers appeared in 1561.

<sup>2</sup> The Bollandists discuss the dogmatic implications of relic cultus, in *Acta Sanctorum*, October 21, under SS. *Ursula et Sociæ, Gloria Posthuma* (Sect. xiii, *Translationes factæ sæc. xvi; Societatis Jesu in hac re studium et opera*). They admit that the relics of the Ursuline virgins may be mixed with other bones. But, *quum cultus reliquiarum relativus sit*, that does not deprive the cultus either of legitimacy or profit.

The documents in the tin box witness forcibly that no relic would be rejected from cultus because thinly authenticated. A reputed relic had the benefit of the doubt. A document signed and sealed by a responsible Catholic, attesting his faith in its authenticity, would "make an honest relic of it" for the rest of its history. The eyes of the Fathers of Trent are not turned outwards, towards Protestantism, in this matter of relics. They are turned homewards, on to the internal task of the cultivation of piety. The evoking of piety by relics will fail if confidence in relics breaks down, as it will do if the business of cultus is not watched over by responsible authority, and protected from exploitation by the irresponsible and unprincipled. The surest road to this is to ban pecuniary transactions, as the Council does.



such cases, what the Ordinary will want to know is that the person who submits the relic has obtained it in a proper manner, from a reputable source where it received public cultus. The trustworthiness of church tradition in the matter of relic cultus is assumed. The emphasis is upon the transaction by which the relic is transferred. The great name and standing of the person who vouches for a relic, or the fact of the deed of authentication being signed and furnished with a seal, are matters for notice. These are indications from which can be guessed the interest of the counter-reformers. They are not troubled by the doubt which Calvin sought to rouse, lest the church might be venerating objects in no way venerable. They are, on the other hand, aware that carelessness in the handling of this adjunct of the devout life is liable to be detrimental to devotion, while the reimposition of standards of punctilious care will have a favourable effect upon devotion. The general character of this punctiliousness in the handling of relics is not unlike that of the precautions that surround the Blessed Sacrament. Relics are precious, in somewhat the same way that the Sacrament is precious. Seemliness demands that they should be richly housed, and their public exposition or movement should be surrounded with signs of reverence. Their identification is secured against accident by the device of binding them with silk of a particular colour recorded in writing. The transfer of the responsibility for their custody is a matter for establishing in the office of a notary-public, or at least in the presence of specially summoned witnesses.<sup>1</sup> And the effect of all this discipline, whether consciously or unconsciously, was the enhancement of the sanctity of relics, and the consequent stimulation of just that sentiment that, as has been said, was so characteristic of the phase of catholic church life with which we are concerned. The faithful, in responding, felt that for

<sup>1</sup> The general character of this kind of deed of authentication is not unlike that of a Faculty for the placing of ornaments in parish churches. The phrase *contraquoscunque* used of the appearance of chief witnesses in the notary's office implies that those engaged in carrying out the formalities wish to safeguard themselves against the inconvenience of any subsequent question that might be raised. The possible jealousy of neighbours might make this expedient.

their part they were gaining the help of a host of heavenly allies, and especially in the war against the heretics. This aspect is very noticeable in the timing of the "Recebimento," in relation to the Armada. If, however, the Protestant attacks upon relic-cultus were powerless to affect the internal life of catholicism, they made themselves felt in the controversial field. It fell to the Jesuits, in particular, as leaders both in the encouragement of cultus at home and as defenders of catholicism in controversy, to dress a catholic reply to Calvin's attack. This was brought to completion by Jean Ferrand, S.J., at Lyons in 1647, in his *Disquisitio reliquaria*. The first difficulty he has to meet is the *suspicienda et suspecta multitudo earundem in individuo reliquiarum*. He boldly proposes to believe that a divine miraculous *replicatio* has taken place. Thus the shroud, *sudarium*, *tunica inconsutilis*, of Christ, the *corona spinea*, *cenatica mappa*, *lignum crucis*, and St. Luke's portrait of the Madonna, are objects so necessary to the devotion of the Church that God granted their *replicatio secundum entitatem et virtutem*. Thus the Church possesses the historic original and the miraculous *ectypa*. This hypothesis will not serve to pass the whole phenomenon of multiplication. And while thus saving the important objects of devotion threatened by the Calvinist attack, he throws overboard a number of lesser ones. He allows, that is, that much multiplication has arisen from pious error. This results frequently from loss and replacement of *schedulæ*, frequent translation of relics, the *culpa*, *incuria*, *et sacrilegia avaritia clericorum*, resulting in sale of true and false relics.<sup>1</sup> Thus, as a general principle, *sacrorum lipsanorum identitas probari debet*. But in the (very frequent) case, that nothing can be told except that the relic has been venerated and preserved in the place where it is, and under the name which it now bears, from time immemorial, its identity is to be taken as sufficiently established. The ages of piety are to be trusted, and the causes of doubt are of recent origin. Where doubt arises, ordinary intelligent enquiry is to be made. Does the description of the relic tally with that which it should possess?

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

Is it properly labelled, provided with a deed of authentication, or witnessed to by local tradition, or by some local circumstance, such as a picture, inscription, or statue in its vicinity, or the existence of a pilgrimage or fair connected with it? If a miracle has been worked, or the relic commands the awe of the faithful, these are evidence in favour of its authenticity. If oaths are taken on relics, votive offerings placed before them, *schedulæ* of benefits hung beside them, or if they are visited, carried in processions, or made the occasion of special collects, these things again are favourable signs.<sup>1</sup> (Ferrand's criteria secure that if the public is minded to devote itself to a relic, it is to be encouraged to go on doing so, and no doubts are to be needlessly raised.) If none of these enquiries leads to a positive result, prayer for guidance should be made, and then, if no clear answer is otherwise received, the relic can be tested by fire or by the medicinal use of water with which it has been washed.

Ferrand holds that the Tridentine canon gives the bishop power not only to approve new objects for veneration within his diocese, but to review old ones. He quotes a canon of a synod of Toulouse in 1590,<sup>2</sup> as follows:

Singulas dioceseos suæ Reliquias, viris spectatæ integritatis et doctrinæ, prudentiaque conspicuis, visitandas notandasque, quam primum episcopi committant, earumque nomina numerumque amplissimis testimoniis obsignatum in libro, in episcopali archivio diligenter asservanda describi curent, nullasque deinceps quis ipsi præmissa sollicita inquisitione non approbarent, populo venerandas proponi sinant.

<sup>1</sup> Ambrosio de Morales, who inspected the religious houses of Galicia and Asturias for King Philip II., in 1572, under a special visitation commission, investigated the condition of relics and their cultus, on these lines. Hardly any of the relics which he met with had deeds of authentication comparable with those in the tin box. A *testimonio* from Cologne attesting a head of St. Cordula, stands out as a signal exception.

He was clearly very dissatisfied with what he found, and recommends that the removal of relics shall only be permitted on authority of a Papal brief. His MS. visitation report was printed in 1765 by H. Florez, under the title, *Viage de Ambrosio de Morales*.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 512.

Ferrand further cites the Jesuit authors Sanchez and Fagundez,<sup>1</sup> who interpret the Tridentine canon as binding the bishop to act in a constitutional manner, and to make use of theologians, in exercising his discretion with regard to the cultus of relics. Such a requirement would give the Jesuits a maximum of influence in the matter, where they were in strength, in a diocese. And their influence, to judge by these southern writers, would be entirely directed towards facilitating popular cultus. They turn the tables on Calvin, with his accusation of mockery of God, by saying that there can be no harm in innocently misdirected veneration. If a devout person kisses what is in historic fact the bone of a dog, in the genuine belief that it is the bone of a saint, it is his meritorious intention that will be regarded in heaven. He will receive the favour of God, and of the saints, and in particular of the saint towards whom his devotion was directed, and will in no wise lose his reward.

Ferrand's argument is a clever attempt to construct a rational defence of existing practice. The practice existed, not because people had arrived at it along the lines of thought which Ferrand sets out, but because it satisfied that sentiment which we have seen to be so characteristic of the counter-Reformation. This sentiment our Lisbon documents exhibit in the most marked degree. The fundamental idea of all the people who are concerned in these authentications is that *piety is the thing*.

It would not be suitable here to pursue the question of the significance of this attitude. It is a question of the greatest importance, but one for which a historical study such as this can only supply material from which to start. It has supplied us with a picture of a large number of people, apparently sincere and earnest folk, acting under the conviction that as good Catholics they must do everything in their power to stimulate and increase piety. If they are failing to face the

<sup>1</sup> T. Sanchez, *Moralium*, Book II., c. 43, n. 15.

S. Fagundez, *In primum ecclesie præceptum*, Book I., c. 4, n. 4.

Both these writers were Lyons Jesuits contemporary with Ferrand, and slightly senior.

challenge of Protestant reform to a radical reassessment of religious values, they are at least ready to take the greatest pains for the sake of those which are accepted. It is this characteristic of the deeds in the tin box which constitutes their appeal to any reader who inclines towards religious conservatism. They show us people who are struggling earnestly and even desperately to conserve religious values against the action of powerful solvents. There is always something of tragedy in that struggle, in whatever circumstances it takes place, and it claims our sympathy.

It is otherwise with the deliberate and calculated policy of the Jesuits of Ferrand's school. Yet even to them it is hard to refuse the admiration due to those who will follow the lines of their choice right through. From the point of view of practical politics, there is much to be said for them. It would have been fatal for the Church of the Counter-reformation to have accepted the task of establishing positively and piecemeal, upon historical grounds, the claims of all relics to veneration. It would have involved her theologians in fighting an indefinitely extended rearguard action, an operation which commonly ends by becoming a rout. The Jesuit extremists chose what is the opposite tactical alternative, namely to hold every inch of their ground at the risk of a turned flank.

Within reformed Catholicism they are to be regarded as extremists. There were those both within and without the Society who were ready to dissociate themselves from this extreme policy. This is illustrated by a lively passage of arms that immediately preceded the publication of Ferrand's book. One of his colleagues at Lyons, by name Jean Guesnay, published anonymously, apparently from a Lyons press in 1643, a small work intended to bolster up, against the scepticism which was spreading among the more educated, the cultus of the Three Marys and Lazarus in the lower Rhône valley. It bore the title *Auctuarium Historicum de Magdalena Masi-liensi advena*, and made a show of supporting the historicity of the coming of the saints to the Rhône-mouth by citations from ancient authors. A copy of this got into the hands of the

learned Dr. Jean de Launoy of the Sorbonne, who replied with a *Disquisitio disquisitionis de Magdalena Massiliensi advena*, in which he both disposed of the historicity of the Three Marys legend, and asserted the tradition in the Church of an abhorrence of false and dubious cultus, as contrary to true piety.<sup>1</sup> To this Guesnay replied, under an assumed name, in 1647, the year of Ferrand's more solid and daring work. It was a worthless reply, because he was attempting to do the two irreconcilable things, to stand on Ferrand's ground and win an argument on that of de Launoy.

Already another movement was starting within the Society of Jesus itself, which meant the abandonment of the Ferrand position. In 1643, the first two volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* were published, and the great work of critical scholarship undertaken by the Bollandists started to develop what may be called the concerted counter-attack on the side of Catholicism with regard to saint cultus.

Later, the suppression of the Jesuits freed Catholic authority from any embarrassment that the extremists of the Ferrand school may have constituted. It was able to dissociate itself from such popular expressions of cultus as were a scandal to educated and sensitive Catholic opinion. But there the reaction ended. No more than before was there any desire to pursue a critical enquiry into existing cultus, or to trouble piety, where such a course was not necessitated by the fear of greater inconveniences.

A question has been raised, in the course of this history, that is of more than academic interest. How far is piety a thing of value in itself? The chief outcome of study of the deeds in the tin box has been to throw into relief the affirmation which the counter-Reformation involved, of the intrinsic value of piety. It was not entirely without reason that the Catholics

<sup>1</sup> For this episode, see *Joannis Launoy Opera Omnia* (Vienne edn. of 1731), Tom. II., Pt. I. (pp. 361-370, for de Launoy's account of the beginning of the affair, pp. 250-361 for the *Disquisitio disquisitionis*, and pp. 202-249 for a later discursus, 1660, *de cura Ecclesiae pro Sanctis et Sanctorum reliquiis*).

held that it was disvalued by the Protestants. The repudiation by the latter of the veneration of relics often really evinced a changed attitude to religious values as a whole. But the other side, by its obscurantism, conserved the traditional values at ruinous cost.

The principles at stake are of wider application than concerns the veneration of relics. There is, on the one hand, the mind's need of absolute intellectual honesty; and on the other there is the heart's need of unquestioning devotion to an object of worship. It should be possible to satisfy these two needs simultaneously, instead of sacrificing one to the other. And yet this is still a fundamental problem of religion.

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